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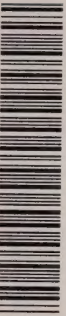
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REPORT
OF THE
EVALUATION TASK FORCE
TO THE
SECRETARY OF STATE;

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH
'71

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EVALUATION TASK FORCE
DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

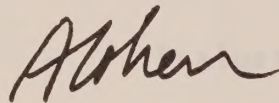
FEBRUARY, 1972

To: The Hon. Gérard Pelletier, P.C., M.P.,
Secretary of State of Canada,
Ottawa, Canada.

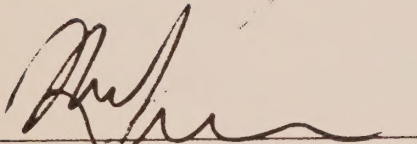
Dear Mr. Pelletier,

As requested by your Department, we are pleased to
present you with our Report: Summer '71 - an evaluation of
the Opportunities for Youth Programme.

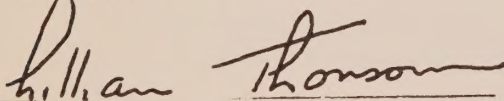
Yours truly,



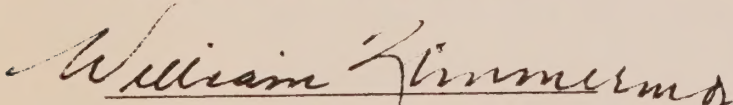
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Co-ordinator
Evaluation Task Force



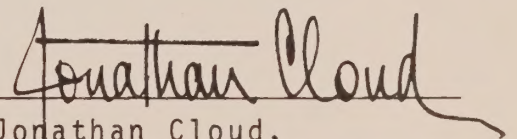
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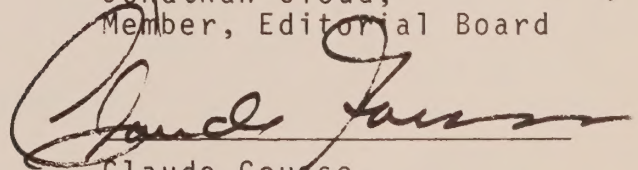
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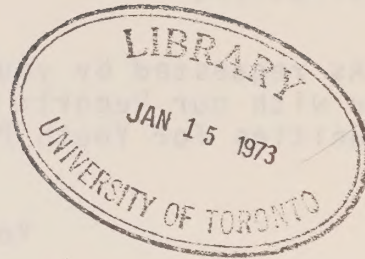
Claude Gousse,
Member, Editorial Board

EVALUATION TAPES FORM

DEPARTMENT OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE

FEBRUARY, 1973

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PREFACE

PREFACE

"Throughout the course of the experiment the government will closely monitor and evaluate the effectiveness of this model for citizen participation, its effectiveness in problem identification and solution, the utility of different approaches never before attempted in the community, and the effect of this programme on the students, participants, and beneficiaries.... So this evaluation might again be a shock of a different kind, we just don't know - this is the risk of it."

Gérard Pelletier¹

On May 27, 1971, the Secretary of State established an Evaluation Task Force to assess Opportunities for Youth, and other related activities of the Department's summer programmes. These programmes represent the main thrust of a significant departure in the federal government's policies towards youth and towards summer programmes.

This departure from traditional government policies has been repeatedly described as *experimental*; and it was recognized from the outset that it would require a radically different form of evaluation from that given to other federal employment programmes. Even the standards for evaluating other direct-granting

¹. Address to the National Council of YMCAs of Canada. Geneva Park, Ontario, May 29, 1971.

programmes are difficult to apply. Where the goals of a programme are well-known or easily recognized, it is often possible to isolate precise criteria for success or failure. Broadly speaking, traditional granting activities are aimed at solutions to specific problems, and the legislation concerning these activities includes guidelines about what types of projects may be included. The customary evaluation techniques were developed in response to this type of granting policy; that is, they attempt to rate the programmes according to some very definite, predetermined standards. Departmental evaluations provide the House of Commons and other government departments with basic statistics and simple cost-benefit analyses of programmes, the purposes and operations of which are matters of common knowledge.

None of this applies to Opportunities for Youth. Its objectives were ambitious, overlapping, and sometimes vague. The concrete details of the programme - that is, the project themselves - were wholly determined by the participants rather than by the criteria of the granting agency. There was no single, definable set of objectives which the programme sought to achieve by its choice of projects, and therefore no explicit set of criteria for the evaluation of the programme at that level. How to compare, for example, the relative costs and benefits of a travelling

theatre troupe in northern Quebec with those of a "speed" clinic in Thunder Bay or a food co-op in Saskatoon? Because the details of the programme originated with the participants rather than the government, Opportunities for Youth might be viewed as an inversion of the usual government programme: its goals were implicit rather than explicit, achieved indirectly rather than directly, *post facto* rather than prior to public knowledge.

Again, there was the fact that the programme sought to tap such elusive qualities as imagination, enthusiasm, and idealism - subjective feelings experienced and expressed by many who had personal contact with projects or programme staff; this too could not be conveyed by a narrow evaluation, reporting only numbers of people and dollars and cents.

All of this combined to stimulate a unique evaluation. The Task Force was given a wide mandate, considerable resources to obtain a variety of skills and combine a variety of approaches, and an almost impossibly short period of time to produce its report. Our aim was to produce a rigorous and public examination of the programmes in the context of the government's developing policies towards young people - their employment, participation in society, and identity. The Task Force was directed to measure the performance of the programme against the established criteria of Treasury Board, the objectives of the programme itself, the objectives of the Department, the broad youth policy objectives set out in the Report of the

Committee on Youth, and the objectives and priorities of the government. The significance attached to the evaluation is clear from the Minister's reluctance to commit himself about the success of Opportunities for Youth until he had seen "a detailed analysis which will help us appreciate what really happened this summer in this experimental venture."²

Recognizing the wide implications of these programmes both for future government policy and for Canadian society generally, the Task Force undertook a variety of research projects designed to provide information of many different kinds from many different sources. The studies we carried out can be divided into two broad categories: documentary research into government policies, programmes, and organizational structures; and sociological research into the public response throughout the country. Realizing that the first prerequisite of evaluation is careful description, we tried to create a composite picture of the events of the summer from the perspectives of the different groups involved: the leaders and participants of accepted projects and those who had their project proposals rejected; local community leaders and relevant professionals; government officials and ordinary citizens.

2. Speech to the Canadian Council on Social Development. Ottawa September 23, 1971.

These descriptive studies can be listed very briefly here.³ Within the first category we undertook:

- a historical background study, both to trace the evolution of the Opportunities for Youth and to provide a general idea of the problems and goals which the government was defining;
- a macro-economic analysis of the general employment and labour market situation, especially as it applied to youth and to the student population;
- a management study of the head office and field operations of the programme;
- a study of project characteristics and activities, based on an analysis of OFY project proposals and financial files in Ottawa.

These studies were designed to provide a basic structure of background information, within which we conducted the more detailed sociological surveys:

- separate structured interview schedules: to OFY project participants, rejected project proposers, and community people;
- field researchers' extensive notes on their observations and discussions, and lengthy qualitative reports on their experiences;
- an analysis of press clippings, to determine the "image" of Opportunities for Youth conveyed in articles, editorial columns, and letters to the editor;
- a national poll of knowledge and opinions towards Opportunities for Youth to see to what extent information about the programme had reached the ordinary citizen;

3. Technical discussion of the research methodology has been reserved for an appendix, available on request from the Department of the Secretary of State.

- detailed case-studies of projects which were interesting or exemplary in some way: because they were novel, controversial, or very expensive.

The results of these surveys served to deepen, and often correct, the impressions we gained from sources available to us in Ottawa.

But the idea of evaluation involves more than just description: it ultimately implies passing judgement in a careful and qualified fashion. It involves setting up standards of analysis which can expose the long-term merits and defects of programmes, and prevent either superficial criticism or empty praise. Although our immediate concern was to assess the programme in terms of its goals and the planning requirements for Summer '72, we were inevitably drawn into wider considerations. The variety of activities encompassed by Opportunities for Youth threatened to provide an unmanageable flood of information: in the time available no one could have read all the project submissions, or even begun to assess any one of the goals of meaningful activity, participation, community benefit, or national unity. A mere compendium of "facts" would be incomprehensible if not misleading. We feel it is impossible to evaluate this programme without looking at its implications for other government programmes and policies. If the events of last summer are to be properly understood, they must be seen in the light of the government's past experience with youth problems and the extensive considerations that entered into the planning of responsive programmes. We share the view that:

"The most striking flaw of the information deluge is the absence of a sense of history which is indispensable to all wisdom. This deficiency is explained by the very nature of our most technically advanced techniques of communication, which adhere so closely to the vast volume of facts and events reported that they are scarcely more than a reproduction or extension of them."⁴

In short, the mass of quantitative data and factual information gathered by the Task Force needs to be seen in the perspective of the government's original goals, its growing awareness of the needs and aspirations of young people, and its potentials and limitations as an agent of social change.

The style of the evaluation is also significantly related to that of the programme it evaluates. Operating under many of the same pressures, we have continually sought a delicate balance between public participation and professional competence, between critical analysis and political consideration, between detailed description and broad comprehension. The evaluation was carried out by a group of predominantly young people, including a range of experts in community development, youth activities, and social research. Throughout, we remained independent of both the department and the programmes we were studying. In short, the Task Force tried to answer the Minister's request that the evaluation provide a concrete learning experience for the federal government itself.

4. Pierre Elliott Trudeau. Address to the Province of Quebec Chamber of Commerce. Saint-Adèle, September 17, 1971.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION



CHAPTER 1

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH: A BRIEF INTRODUCTION

"We are saying, in effect, to the youth of Canada that we are impressed by their desire to fight pollution; that we believe they are well motivated in their concern for the disadvantaged; that we have confidence in their value system. We are also saying that we intend to challenge them and see if they have the stamina and self-discipline to follow through on their criticism and advice."

Pierre Elliott Trudeau¹

On March 16, 1971, the federal government announced a number of summer programmes aimed specifically at young people. Noting that more than 1,800,000 university and high school students would be released from their studies during the summer, the government allocated \$57.2 million to programmes designed to provide jobs and "meaningful activities". These programmes included increased hiring in the public service, additional Canada Manpower Centres for students, a repetition of the special summer militia programme, an expansion of group and individual travel services, a programme of grants to Canadian student-athletes, and the novel (and immediately controversial) Opportunities for Youth programme. Several of these programmes were located directly within the Secretary of State's Department, and responsibility for the co-ordination of the information for the whole Summer '71 effort was also assigned to this department.

¹. Prime Minister's statement on "Motions". House of Commons, March 16, 1971, p.3.

This Report evaluates one of these programmes: Opportunities for Youth. This chapter provides a brief introduction to the programme, and outlines the approach which will be taken in the rest of the Report.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH

The Opportunities for Youth programme, originally budgeted at \$14.7 million and later given an additional \$10 million, (raising to \$67.2 million, the total amount allotted to Summer projects) sought to fund a variety of activities proposed by students and other young people. As the Prime Minister's remarks indicate, it would encompass all kinds of community-oriented projects, such as urban redevelopment, pollution studies, social services for the elderly, day-care centres, and cultural activities. The scope of the programme was to be limited only, as one news release put it, "by the imagination of the young people themselves and the participating citizens' groups and voluntary community organizations."²

The response was overwhelming. Ultimately, 2,312 projects were approved, resulting in 27,832 jobs for students, and having incalculable long-term effects on local communities across Canada. A summary of the basic statistical facts about the programme appears in Tables 1A and 1B. It shows, in both national and regional terms, the number of proposals received,

2. The Secretary of State, News Release No. 3-1671-E.
March 16, 1971, p.1.

TABLE 1A

The Opportunities for Youth Programme -
Projects, Money, and Jobs by Region (1)

| Number of proposals (2) | Number of projects | Money allocated (3) | Number of jobs created Secondary | Post-secondary (4) | Total | Average cost per job (3) |
|----------------------------|--------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| | | \$ | | | | \$ |
| B.C. | 760 | 2,373,286 | 1157 | 2328 | 3485 | 681.00 |
| Prairies | 1160 | 3,636,347 | 1503 | 2882 | 4385 | 829.27 |
| Ontario | 2420 | 4,889,772 | 1710 | 4362 | 6072 | 805.30 |
| Quebec | 2380 | 9,092,321 | 1529 | 8747 | 10276 | 884.81 |
| Atlantic | 1330 | 2,758,131 | 714 | 2607 | 3321 | 830.51 |
| National* (inter-regional) | | 367,727 | 3 | 290 | 293 | 1255.04 |
| TOTAL | 8050 | 23,117,585 | 6616 | 21216 | 27832 | 830.61 |

(1) Based on official OFY figures.

(2) Project proposals submitted before the cut-off date of April 30. In all, over 10,000 items were processed, some of which were actually only letters requesting jobs or information.

(3) Excludes administration costs of \$1,182,415 (which bring up the average cost per job to \$873.10), and sundry items - including the major share of the cost of this evaluation.

(4) Includes approximately 2,200 non-students, counted as "post-secondary" by OFY.

* Included in the regional figures according to province of origin.

TABLE 1B

The Opportunities for Youth ProgrammeProjects, Money, and Jobs by Region

(per cent)

| | Number of Proposals | Number of Projects | Money Allocated | Number of Jobs Created | | Total |
|----------|------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|------------------------|--------------------|-------|
| | | | | Secondary | Post- Secondary | |
| B.C. | 9.4 | 12.9 | 10.3 | 17.5 | 11.0 | 12.5 |
| Prairies | 14.4 | 14.9 | 15.7 | 22.7 | 13.6 | 15.8 |
| Ontario | 30.1 | 25.3 | 21.2 | 25.8 | 20.5 | 21.8 |
| Quebec | 29.6 | 34.0 | 39.3 | 23.1 | 41.2 | 36.9 |
| Atlantic | 16.5 | 12.2 | 11.9 | 10.8 | 12.3 | 11.9 |
| National | - | 0.7 | 1.6 | 0.1 | 1.4 | 1.1 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

the number of projects funded, the amount of money allocated for project activities, the number of student jobs created, and the cost of each job.

These figures may be used to assess the direct effects, in numerical and financial terms, of Opportunities for Youth on the student population. The largest amount of money, 39.3% of the programme budget, went to the Province of Quebec, followed by Ontario with 21.2%. The three Prairie provinces received 15.7% of the money among them, and the Atlantic region (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland) got 11.9%. British Columbia was allocated 10.3%; and the remaining 1.6% of project funds went to national projects, which involved travel or other activities spread over several provinces. This distribution of money was predetermined by the estimated proportion of post-secondary student unemployment in each region, rather than by the different rates of project submission. This meant that one in every three proposals could be funded in Quebec, whereas the ratio was one in five in the Atlantic region. The projects accepted in Quebec were also slightly larger, on the average, than those in other regions.

The average cost per job also varied from region to region. The lowest (\$681.00) occurred in British Columbia, and the highest (\$884.81) - not counting national projects - in Quebec. This is accounted for by the ratio of secondary to post-secondary students, as the latter were paid slightly higher wages. In British Columbia, half of all the students employed were at the

secondary level, whereas in Quebec there were nearly six times as many post-secondary as secondary students. The ratio of university to high school students employed across the country by the programme was slightly more than three to one.

As the most innovative, and in some ways the most important, of the summer programmes, Opportunities for Youth received extensive coverage in the news media, and was attacked and defended both inside and outside Parliament throughout the summer. The fundamental idea behind the programme appears deceptively simple: to enable young people to define their own summer activities according to their own standards, within certain minimal constraints.³

However, the ramifications of this idea as a model of government funding and local initiative are complex. Basically, it involves the allocation of public funds to projects originated within neighbourhoods and small communities, rather than organized and imposed by government planners. The actual amount of money, which was small relative to other government expenditures, is probably less important than its application by individuals and ad hoc groups to a variety of causes and concerns. Although short-term, labour-intensive projects, such as those financed by Opportunities for Youth, may be incapable of meeting the community's

3. Criteria used in the selection of projects stipulated, for example, that no profit-making activities would be funded, and that projects must benefit persons other than those immediately employed.

basic and enduring needs, in principle they can provide a flexible response to the specific and rapidly changing problems which exist at the local level.

In tackling larger issues, such as pollution or poverty, brief "demonstration" projects may be used by committed participants to clarify social issues, or to display alternative solutions to long-term problems. Research projects can provide information on the local characteristics or manifestations of such issues. The demonstration can be aimed at other residents of the community, or directly at government or social agencies.

In some ways, Opportunities for Youth could be described as a kind of planned "anarchism."⁴ Since each project was assessed on its own merits and since there were no explicit guidelines as to project content, young people could choose to participate in quite different types of activity in the same community. In principle, funds could be used at cross-purposes by different interest groups; the same problem or need could be dealt with from different points of view. Although explicitly political projects were rejected, individuals were theoretically free to work for or against "the system", or to disregard it entirely (e.g., by setting up communes). The relative absence of political influence in the project selection process enabled people to devise projects which could challenge, by visible example, the established power structures and traditional ways of their communities.

4. In the classical sense of spontaneous self-organization.

In short, Opportunities for Youth represented an experiment in government-sponsored social change as well as a temporary employment programme for students. This Report therefore attempts to evaluate its longer term implications as well as its specific effects last summer in terms of the broad objectives and stated goals of the government.

EVALUATING OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH

The distinctive principles behind the Opportunities for Youth can be seen to have a broad application, and could well be extended to other groups and longer term ventures. The approach taken in this Report deals with these wider implications as well as with the immediate goals and achievements of the programme. Chapter 2 presents the background to the summer experiments: it analyzes the problems perceived by the government, and the official goals of the programme. It places emphasis on the processes by which the recognition of a problem is translated into a solution in the form of a programme or set of programmes. Both immediate goals and long-range objectives played a role in shaping the final form and extent of the Summer '71 effort. Although some of the implications of the programme were not fully recognized at the outset, a careful study of the planning process and the stated goals provides the initial criteria for the evaluation.

The following section begins by describing the events which led up to the implementation of the Opportunities for Youth project, from the administrative preparations for the programme to the selection process. A brief description of the field operations is followed by a detailed evaluation of the programme in terms of its major stated goals. This is supplemented by a presentation of the reactions to the programme by the project participants, members of the local communities, the news media, and the "man-in-the street". The section concludes with a presentation of data relevant to some of the consequences of the programme other than those anticipated in the official goals.

The final section of the Report is a statement of conclusions and recommendations of the Task Force.

Finally, a list of the people who participated in the evaluation is appended to the Report.

PROBLEMS & GOALS



CHAPTER 2

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH: PROBLEMS AND GOALS

The significance of the Opportunities for Youth programme cannot and has not been judged solely in monetary terms - it has been seen as a new government initiative in participatory and "activity" programming which departs from the traditional concept of job creation. The evaluation of its utility and its achievements must, then, range beyond its ability to provide jobs, and touch on the less easily defined areas of "meaningful activity", "learning experience", "community benefit", and "service" which its goals included.

The original purposes of this programme must be understood before a clear assessment can be made, since it is especially in this area that "there seems to be a fairly close correlation between the term which is used by someone, his social analysis of the problem, and the solutions he will no doubt prescribe."¹ The first section of this chapter places

¹. Gérard Pelletier. Speech to the Canadian Council on Social Development. Ottawa, September 23, 1971.

the government's approach to Summer '71 in its historical setting, and briefly describes the development of federal involvement in the area of youth activity. The second section attempts to specify the terms used to analyze the original problems by looking at the initial planning of the activities; the third section shows how these terms determined the kinds of solutions prescribed for the federal response. The final section outlines the official goals and criteria of the summer programme.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The first evidence of significant numbers of so-called "alienated youth" was offered for most people in the summer of 1967.² For the first time in Canada, large groups of young people spent their summer holidays hitch-hiking from one end of the country to the other. For the most part, citizens of the towns along the route either ignored the phenomenon (because it did not involve *their* children), or they actively campaigned against it, saying that these "dirty hippies" were at worst a plague to be wiped out and at best a bad influence on local youth. Summer travel was not the only concern: the popularity of illegal drugs was rising rapidly; many young people were dressing radically differently from both their parents and from previous recent youth styles. The media were fascinated and began,

2. The Company of Young Canadians, founded in 1966, represented the recognition of a different kind of "alienation"; as the first major government-sponsored youth organization, it catered mainly to a relatively small group of university students. Its impact cannot be compared to that of the "transient youth" phenomenon.

with the enthusiastic support of some young people, to describe a "youth culture" that adults could not understand, and which they portrayed as different from any other culture ever seen before. The language of the radical rhetoric became popular language; and the generation gap, heretofore called "growing up", was enshrined and nurtured by the Madison Avenue purveyors of the "new music", the "new clothing", and the "new hairstyles".

By summer '68, the numbers of young people on the road increased significantly; so too did the number of drug offences, the number of secondary and post-secondary students, and the number of drop-outs from educational institutions. At the same time, the only thing that seemed to be decreasing was the number of jobs available for the graduates of these institutions. University fees rose, and as the opportunities for graduates dwindled, dissatisfaction with the universities became more vocal.

In August, 1969, the Secretary of State appointed a Committee on Youth to investigate "the aspirations, attitudes and needs of youth", and "the government's present role in this area." The research and writing for this report was undertaken during the remainder of 1969 through 1970 and the final report to the Secretary of State by the Committee on Youth, entitled "It's Your Turn....", was presented in 1971.

Meanwhile, federal expenditures for youth increased considerably in 1970 over what they had been in 1969. Partly in response to the lobbying of the National Hostel Task Force,³ the Department of the Secretary of State, in co-operation with the Department of National Defence, made military armouries available for use as hostels right across Canada. As well as the armouries programme, the government increased summer hiring in the public service and militia and civilian training programmes.

The decision to provide hostel facilities was welcomed, but at the same time, the Summer '70 programme attracted considerable criticism. Many found sleeping conditions and food in the armouries inadequate and complained about the lack of useful referral and employment services. The lack of summer employment to enable students to finance their education received wide coverage in the media. Less visible but equally pointed were attacks on the "meaninglessness" of make-work in the public service and the "utter irrelevance" of military training or janitorial work on forces' bases. Conscious of the need, and of the criticism, and accepting some responsibility for the area of summer youth problems, the government began in the fall of 1970 to plan an expanded programme for 1971.

3. A voluntary body established at a national consultation on transient youth organized by the Canadian Council of Social Development and supported by the Department of National Health and Welfare in spring 1970.

Defining the Problems

One of the government's first steps was to set up an interdepartmental committee of senior officials from several departments. This committee was directed to consider longer term alternatives for dealing with the unemployment situation facing young people each summer, and more specifically, to plan a student summer employment programme for the summer of 1971.

However, after noting that the broader aspects of youth policy were being dealt with by the Committee on Youth, the interdepartmental committee quickly narrowed its attention to the short-term cluster of summer youth problems. Discussions during the fall and winter of 1970 were aimed at clarifying aspects of this cluster, and setting the limits for the subsequent planning and debate from which Summer '71 emerged.

Without going into the details of this process, we can identify the major aspects here. In general, the interdepartmental committee's deliberations were dominated by a tendency to isolate and define problems intrinsic to youth. At no stage did it consider the promotion of social change as an objective or a problem, nor did it deal with problems of young people in the wider context of the economic and political structures of the society as a whole.

The committee addressed itself first to the problem of student unemployment. The figures produced by Manpower and Statistics Canada pointed to an increasingly critical situation for the labour force generally and for youth in particular. It was expected the number of students returning to secondary and post-secondary schools in fall 1971 would be 1,805,000 - an increase of 96,000 over 1970. Of that number, it was estimated that 989,000 would seek employment. This would be an increase of 54,000 over 1970, when unemployment in the 14 to 24 age group was higher than at any time since the depression years.⁴

The students hardest hit by the scarcity of summer employment were identified as being those who would be attending post-secondary institutions, particularly universities, where many students are dependent on at least some summer earnings to help finance their education. The committee recommended that the summer programmes should emphasize opportunities for post-secondary students, and that they should be tilted to overcome regional disparities in the rates of student unemployment.

4. *It's Your Turn....* Chapter 1, Table 15.

The second main problem which the committee defined was the distinct possibility that a combination of unemployment and "inactivity" would lead to serious social unrest. The definition of this problem involved a careful distinction between those young people who could be properly considered *unemployed*, in the sense that they were actively seeking work but could not find it, and those who were inactive altogether with respect to the labour force. The latter group includes transients, drop-outs, and freaks, who not only do not have jobs but do not want them. It was estimated that approximately 200,000 young people had been travelling in the summer of 1970, and the committee expected the figure to jump to 300,000 in 1971. It may be thought slightly ironic to describe these individuals as "inactive", since it was precisely their activity, rather than their idleness, which was of concern to the committee.

The decision to focus the Summer '71 effort primarily on students, and also to some small extent on the marginal youth subculture - as opposed to dealing with youth and other disadvantaged groups generally - must be examined in terms of the perceived relationship between unemployment, inactivity, and social unrest. For it was not unemployment *per se* which was seen as creating social unrest, but rather inactivity and non-participation in general. The committee recognized that the difficulty many young people were having in finding jobs was only one of several sources of their rising discontent. In addition to those who simply sought to earn a living in the conventional

manner, many were beginning to protest against the "meaninglessness" of the jobs available, the absence of participation in a society which calls itself democratic, and the irrelevance of summer make-work programmes to the real needs of the community. Those who protested the most loudly were students. But it was also recognized that if the more powerful voice of discontented students became the evident justification for the summer programmes, it could easily produce a backlash from other sectors of society.

The need of students for money to finance their continuing education is a reflection of the educational system itself. The committee noted that most of what a student could save by working during the summer went directly to the universities, and that the real beneficiaries of summer employment for post-secondary students were the universities themselves. Yet any direct action by the federal government to break out of this pattern might create hardship for the students before having a measurable effect on the universities.

But if students were to remain the primary target, along with transient or "alienated" youth, the very disenchantment of these groups dictated qualitative as well as merely quantitative changes in the government's regular summer programmes. The public service hiring programme could be somewhat expanded, as could militia training and group travel programmes. Some students were interested in the career opportunities of the civil service; others, especially those still in high school, sought training in

the militia, or the security of organized tours. But many others found these pursuits unsatisfying and frustrating, and hence a subsidiary set of issues was defined by the interdepartmental committee. This committee recognized that the most meaningful activities for young people would be those initiated, executed and evaluated by youth themselves.

Various definitions of "meaningful activity" were stated or implied during the process of arriving at the final programme proposal. Discussion eventually centred around three related concepts: youth involvement, community benefit, and government responsiveness.

Very briefly, on the assumption that the more vocal young people are generally more conscious of social issues, it was argued that any programme which encompassed youth-initiated project would result primarily in activities designed to meet immediate community needs - as perceived by youth. The extent to which such projects could be expected actually to fulfil real needs was difficult to determine; but, more importantly perhaps, it was thought that any programme which made possible such an attempt would be seen as a model of government responsiveness. It would involve the government in accepting and acting upon young people's definitions of local needs, and hence create participation between government and youth in identifying and solving the problems of their society.

Finally, the long-standing concern of the federal government with the problem of "national disunity" was also

included in the committee's deliberations. "National unity" may be understood as having both a broad and a narrow sense: narrowly, it refers to the continued maintenance of political federation between Quebec and the rest of Canada; more broadly, it involves notions of national solidarity and national identity which are applicable to all parts of the country.

In summary, the group responsible for planning the Summer '71 programme identified two major problems, and several subsidiary ones, which determined the broad nature of the proposals submitted to the government early in the new year. The first was that of critical summer unemployment among students, which was expected to be highest in Quebec, and to affect post-secondary more severely than secondary students. The second was the distinct possibility that high student unemployment, coupled with an increasing tendency towards non-participation on the part of youth, could lead to social unrest. In order to respond to these problems, the committee identified the need for programmes that would provide youth with opportunities for "meaningful" activities, which involved the notions of youth initiative, potential social benefit, and a sense of participation through the demonstration of government responsiveness. An additional consideration that was introduced was the promotion of "national unity".

ASSUMPTIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The terms in which the original problems were defined served to determine, to a large extent, the kinds of solutions proposed. Before examining the official goals of the Summer '71 programmes, it is important to note some of the implications of the basic perspective and assumptions adopted by the planning group.

In recognizing the alienation and inactivity of young people as potential sources of social unrest, the committee tended to see the response of young people - rather than its causes - as the major problem requiring treatment. It attributed the discontent of students and young transients to characteristics intrinsic to youth as such, to the special problems and needs possessed by young people alone. Similarly, the summer programme was developed in isolation from the more general considerations of the economic and social structure.

The restriction of attention from youth generally to students, and particularly to post-secondary students, had several important consequences. It is true that on a proportional basis people between the ages of 14 and 24 experience considerably higher unemployment than other age groups, and suffer most from variations in the business cycle, anti-inflationary policies, and so on. It is also true that students, who must pay tuition and living expenses while receiving little or no income

for most of the year, frequently require temporary employment or outside assistance to continue their education.⁵ However, it must also be noted that, of all youth, university students are the most privileged, the most self-motivated, and the most likely to find eventual job satisfaction. Programmes designed to provide temporary relief and activities for post-secondary students can be said to reach what is, relatively speaking, the most privileged of the underprivileged groups in our society.

The selection of students as the primary target group necessarily restricted the Opportunities for Youth programme's potential for wider community benefit. Although it was assumed that many student-initiated projects would attempt to benefit disadvantaged groups - and such projects could be given priority in the selection process - the programme did not provide the opportunity for these disadvantaged groups to define or affect their own problems directly.

Looked at another way, the creation of specifically *youth programmes* does a disservice to young people themselves. While recognizing that young people are dissatisfied with such issues as the meaninglessness of available work, the lack of government responsiveness to local need, and the inadequate level of participation in the decisions and activities of government, the

5. An analysis of youth and student unemployment, as it relates to the summer programmes, is presented in Chapter 4.

committee dealt with the dissatisfaction, rather than the issues themselves, as the problem. Hence, it sought to design special programmes for young people to participate in, and to provide "meaningful activities" for the dissatisfied.

In principle, however, such measures can only serve as temporary expedients. For participation and government responsiveness are not "problems" which can be resolved by one or even a few programmes. Rather, "participation" refers to the way other problems are resolved - i.e., through joint decision-making and collaboration between government and people; and "responsiveness" refers to the government's willingness to view its role as limited in this fashion.

Hence, programmes such as those provided last summer cannot be seen as "solutions" in themselves. Rather, they must be evaluated as experiments in new types of relationships between the government and the people, whose success or failure can only point the way to the more general changes required.

GOALS AND CRITERIA

In late February, the government, after receiving the recommendations of the interdepartmental committee, agreed on five criteria to be used in establishing priorities among all federal summer employment programmes:

- a) the cost of each job created;
- b) the number of people who would benefit;
- c) the regional distribution of benefits;
- d) the effect on national unity;
- e) to the extent feasible, priority in jobs and activities be given - as among students - to post-secondary school students whose needs are greatest.

It also stipulated that programmes be tilted to overcome regional disparities in student unemployment rates.

The Opportunities for Youth programme would initially receive \$14.437 million, with the understanding that any money not spent by April 30 would revert to the Treasury Board for distribution among the other Summer programmes. The Prime Minister assigned responsibility for the programme, along with the publicity and public relations activity for the whole summer effort, to the Secretary of State.

A complete breakdown of the Summer '71 budget - at that stage \$57.55 million - is given in Table 1.

TABLE 1

Summer '71 Budget Allocations,
as of February 25, 1971.

| | Millions of \$ | % |
|---|-------------------|--------|
| Hiring in the public service | 30.570 | 53.16 |
| Opportunities for Youth programme | 14.437 | 25.08 |
| Militia, cadet and civilian training | 5.000 | 8.68 |
| Group travel | 3.775 | 6.55 |
| Individual travel - Canada hostels, kiosks | 1.153 | 2.00 |
| Language training | 1.000 | 1.73 |
| Athletic scholarships | 1.000 | 1.73 |
| Special student employment centres and advertising | 0.450 | 0.78 |
| International Student Summer Employment Exchange | 0.170 | 0.29 |
| TOTAL | 57.555 | 100.00 |

In announcing the total package in the House, the Prime Minister noted the relevant facts very briefly. Referring to both high school and university students, he stated that it was in the national interest to provide as many summer jobs and activities as possible, not only to encourage students to assume part of the cost of their own education from their earnings, but also "in terms of self support, of broadening of outlook, of acquisition of new skills and experience."⁶ At the same time, it was important that the creation of summer employment opportunities should not take place at the expense of jobs for people who were in or entering the permanent labour force. A further requirement was "to avoid 'make-work' activities which contribute little to national well being either now or in the future. Employment opportunities - whether permanent or temporary - must either contribute to present productivity or serve to upgrade our future labour force and so contribute to an increase of productivity and output in years to come."

These remarks applied most directly to the traditional hiring programmes; in addition, the government intended to assist students in "non-employment activities" in the form of travel, study, and voluntary occupations; and to "combine the resources of the government with the resourcefulness of youth" in the Opportunities for Youth programme. The latter thus contained

6.

Prime Minister's Statement on "Motions." March 16, 1971.

the objectives both of providing students with gainful employment and of offering them productive and worthwhile activities for the summer.

A pamphlet describing the programme was prepared for applicants, and on April 22, the Secretary of State informed the House of some of the criteria being used to select projects for approval: "Proposals which do not involve sufficient student participation or represent merely a financial extension of provincial or municipal services may not be approved. Also excluded are profit-oriented schemes and projects which would benefit only those whom they would employ, etc. Each project is carefully assured of its successful implementation."⁷

The final list of criteria, approved by Treasury Board on April 26, specified that:

- 1) young people should be involved in the planning, management, and evaluation of projects;
- 2) projects should be assessed on the basis of their precision, viability, and potential for achievement of their objectives;
- 3) higher ratings should be given in assessment to those projects involving new services, ideas or programmes;

7. Statement in the House of Commons. April 22, 1971, p.3.

- 4) projects should be avoided that tend to substitute for services provided by any level of government or by the private sector, or that provide for purely leisure activities;
- 5) project proposers should have consulted and have the support of relevant voluntary organizations, and of provincial and municipal departments or other related organizations where required;
- 6) projects should be assessed to determine the ratio of post-secondary to secondary students to be employed, and a ratio of at least 4:1 should be the objective;
- 7) a cost of no more than \$1,000 for post-secondary students and \$800.00 for secondary students for three-month paid jobs should be the objective, and the number of students participating as volunteers for limited amounts of pay should be maximized;
- 8) for each project total salaries paid to students should be not less than 80% of the total cost of the project (including overhead, administration, training and other costs).

These criteria are basically an expansion of those criteria listed by the government in February, with two important differences: the concern for national unity, explicit in the government criteria, is not mentioned; nor is there mention of the role of voluntary organizations wishing to apply.

In 1970, the Department of Manpower and Immigration gave sizeable grants to the YMCA and the Red Cross to augment their programmes and create extra summer employment. Their expectations, with those of other associations who had hoped to benefit this

year, were largely based on those grants. The role of these agencies under the OFY programme, however, remained unclear. Although they could submit proposals, the emphasis on youth initiation and management of projects disqualified many of their traditional activities. Further, although many project applicants asked them for assistance and support, it appeared as though their involvement itself might reduce their chances of success. The situation was partly clarified by Mr. Pelletier in a speech to the National Council of YMCA's on May 29.

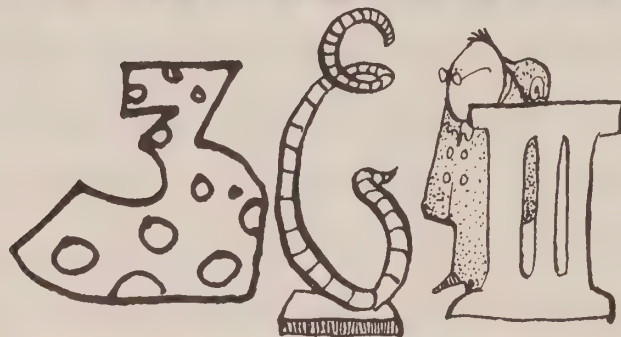
"The programme is to make it possible for citizen groups, voluntary organizations and young people themselves to develop opportunities this summer of 1971. Priorities are being given to post-secondary students including those who will be entering post-secondary institutions, who are seeking employment; also students from areas of lowest job opportunities. To achieve the objectives and priorities the following criteria were employed. First the number of jobs created by youth projects, and the cost of each job; secondly the number of participants and benefits projected to each project; thirdly the promotion of national solidarity, which by the way does not mean French/English relations but solidarity between Canadians all over the country."⁸

But a good deal of the project selection had occurred by this time; and there was some confusion within OFY, for although the Minister's speech was public, the Treasury Board criteria were not. Mr. Pelletier also notes his concern for "national solidarity", included in the government criteria, but not in the listing of the Treasury Board.

8. Hon. Gérard Pelletier. Speech to National Council of YMCA's. Geneva Park, May 29, 1971.

The goals of OFY were, then, three-fold. The first objective of the programme was to provide employment for students which would not involve job competition between students and permanent members of the labour force. The priorities among this target group were post-secondary school students, particularly those who faced regional disparities in job opportunities. A second and equally important goal was to ensure that the jobs provided were seen as "meaningful" by the students. In practice this led to the notion of projects initiated and controlled by the participants, enabling them to act on their own definitions of community need, and providing an effective learning experience. The third and final major goal of the programme was that it have a beneficial effect on national unity, defined in terms of a general awareness and affection for the country at large.

ADMINISTRATION



SELECTION

CHAPTER 3

ADMINISTRATION AND SELECTION

The general goals of the programme are the decisive criteria for evaluating the success or failure of Opportunities for Youth. But they provided at the outset no clear guide to the practical problems of the administrative implementation of the programme. With the constraints imposed by the diffuseness of the goals and criteria, the limited time factor, and the unexpected number of proposals, the programme required an organization which was both responsive and efficient. This chapter analyzes the specific structures established, and evaluates the administration, project selection, and field support.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE

Cabinet gave responsibility for Opportunities for Youth to the Secretary of State's Department on February 25, only three weeks before its official announcement. Within this period the first steps in setting up the programme took place. An official from National Health and Welfare, who had been instrumental in the development of the ideas behind Opportunities for Youth, was

seconded as programme director. At the same time, application forms were devised, a public relations firm was hired to prepare information pamphlets, and the hiring of key staff began.

The quality of staff was of the utmost importance, since the proposed administrative structure placed great emphasis on individuals being both flexible and decisive. The structure was conceived as having five levels within which decisions could take place. The preliminary screening of all submissions would be the responsibility of project officers who were primarily young university students hired from across Canada. Working under the co-ordination of five regional officers, they would analyze each proposed project in detail and, aided by their knowledge of the local community, select those they thought worthy. Projects costing less than \$50,000 would pass to a departmental committee of senior officials (including the programme director), which would make the final selections. Projects costing \$50,000 or more would go through a similar process but the final arbitrating committee would this time be an interdepartmental one. The recommendations of both these committees were subject to the approval of the Minister, the Under-Secretary and the Assistant Under-Secretary of State.

This administrative framework, placing great emphasis on the judgement of the 40 individual project officers, would be quite different from that of the normal bureaucracy, and would hopefully prove to have many advantages. Submissions from young people could be judged sensitively by their peers, and there could be extensive

communication between the applicant and the project officer assigned to that area. In addition, feedback would continue once a proposal had been approved. Unlike the normal process of being turned over at each stage to new and different personnel, every project leader would have continuing contact with a single individual; the same officer who had selected the project would be responsible for its welfare throughout the summer.

In practice, things did not work out quite that smoothly. Programme planners had anticipated receiving about 100 proposals each day in the one month period until the April 15 deadline, and support services had been designed on this basis. For a while applications arrived at the expected rate, but a few days before the deadline it was discovered that the proposals being delivered to project officers were only a small proportion of those actually submitted. A bottleneck in the mail room, coupled with a last minute deluge to beat the deadline, resulted in the delivery of almost 8,000 pieces of mail between April 13 and April 15.

More significant was the lack of an adequate telephone system. The unanticipated number of proposals required the hiring of extra staff and the initial office space proved insufficient. As a result, the British Columbia and Ontario groups moved to another office, but there were no longer enough telephones for project officers and no central switchboard serving both offices. This severely limited communication with applicants - the feedback process which was so important.

Table 1 shows that project officers were forced to reject many applications without ever speaking to the applicant. In spite of the pressures of time and the large volume of applications, they did manage to contact, at least twice, a majority of those whose proposals they hoped to approve.

TABLE 1

No. of Contacts with OFY before Final Decision
(per cent)

| | Accepted Leaders | Rejected Leaders |
|--------------|------------------|------------------|
| Never | 16.2 | 40.7 |
| Once | 18.7 | 29.7 |
| 2 - 5 | 36.2 | 24.7 |
| 6 - 10 | 11.7 | 2.7 |
| 11 plus | 4.6 | 2.2 |
| Not answered | 12.7 | - |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| SAMPLE SIZE | 356 | 183 |

A management study of Opportunities for Youth concluded that: "This programme suffered from inadequate planning complicated by a last minute budget revision and an overwhelming response to the concept by potential project participants. There can be little doubt from the data gathered that these factors were responsible for many problems. The fact that many more problems did not materialize was due largely to the commitment of those who ran the programme at all of its levels."¹

In addition to these logistical failings, the project selection process was hindered by a lack of preliminary reflection. Partly because of lack of time and experience, the information available at the various selection levels was seriously inadequate. The application forms did not even ascertain whether applicants were students - the priority target group for the programme. The face sheet - a one page precis of the application - had to be altered three times because the content did not provide the data required by the project officers. Finally, there was no central filing section which could maintain day-to-day accounts of decisions.

Since there was no readily accessible record of the number of projects funded in each region, the number of jobs created or the total money spent, neither the regional officers nor the director had a clear picture of the progress of the overall programme. As a result, many in the Ottawa office seemed to worry that each day might bring the kind of crises that could not be dealt with effectively.

1. G. Forsyth and G. Ouellette. "Management Study of Summer '71." A report to the Evaluation Task Force, November 1971.

This internal confusion had at least one profound and perhaps ultimately desirable effect on project selection. The officials at the upper levels of the structure became so overloaded with work that, for the most part, they had to accept the project officers' recommendations in their entirety. Their practical contribution was limited to paring the budgets of the more extravagantly conceived or overly controversial proposals, leaving the project and regional officers in effective control of the entire selection process.

SELECTION PROCESS

Given that it was impossible to fund all the submissions, some criteria were required to select the preferred projects. In another programme, there would have been a straightforward set of rules, a checklist, deliniating exactly the requirements for project approval and reducing the selection process to a simple clerical task. Evaluating such a process would then be equally easy - merely comparing the accepted projects to the list of requirements. As previous chapters have suggested, however, Opportunities for Youth was in few ways a regular programme. In place of a well defined set of rules, there were only general guidelines, far from exhaustive and frequently vague.

The indeterminate nature of the guidelines makes evaluation of the success of the selection process very difficult. Normally it would only have been necessary to compare the accepted projects against the list of rules for selection. But in the case of

Opportunities for Youth, project officers found that many more projects met all the criteria than could possibly be funded. As a result, many submissions that were good were rejected as "just not quite good enough", with these distinctions reflecting the project officers' personal backgrounds and interests.

However, although it complicated both the evaluation and the selection itself, the generality of the guidelines should be viewed as a strength rather than a weakness of the programme. It allowed the programme to respond to the desires of the target group by permitting the continuous adjustment of selection priorities throughout the process. It prevented any one viewpoint from dominating all others by allowing many different definitions of "worthwhile" and "meaningful". It forced project officers to utilize those skills for which they had been chosen and resulted in the tremendous variety that characterized Opportunities for Youth projects last summer.

But given this situation, it is not sufficient simply to examine the accepted projects to determine whether or not they satisfied all the criteria, since it is clear that many of the rejected projects would themselves have passed this test. Instead it is necessary to compare the accepted projects to the entire group of submissions, and determine whether the accepted projects satisfied the criteria better than did the submissions as a whole.

One of the few concrete criteria was the Treasury Board's guideline as to the distribution of funds. Table 2 shows the Treasury Board's suggested distribution based on the forecast distribution of student unemployment, and the actual allocation of funds in each region.

TABLE 2
Distribution of Funds by Region
(per cent)

| | Treasury Board Guideline | Actual Allocation |
|----------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| B.C. | 12 | 10.3 |
| Prairies | 21 | 15.7 |
| Ontario | 21 | 21.2 |
| Quebec | 36 | 39.3 |
| Atlantic | 10 | 11.9 |
| National | - | 1.6 |
| TOTAL | 100 | 100.0 (\$23,117,585)* |

* This figure represents the total money granted, and does not include OFY administrative costs.

Although a first glance seems to show that the selection process did not entirely succeed in satisfying the guideline, in actual fact the suggested distribution would have been very difficult to achieve. Table 3 shows the regional distribution of submissions and acceptances.

TABLE 3
Distribution of Submissions by Region
(per cent)

| | Distribution of Submissions | Distribution of Projects Funded | Regional Acceptance ⁽¹⁾ Rate |
|----------|-----------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---|
| B.C. | 9.4 | 12.9 | 39.2 |
| Prairies | 14.4 | 14.9 | 29.7 |
| Ontario | 30.2 | 25.3 | 24.2 |
| Quebec | 29.6 | 34.0 | 33.0 |
| Atlantic | 16.5 | 12.2 | 21.2 |
| National | - | 0.7 | - |
| TOTAL | 100.0 (n = 8050) | 100.0 (n = 2312) | 28.7 |

(1) The Acceptance Rate is defined as the proportion of submissions that were accepted in each category, i.e. in B.C. an acceptance rate of 39.2% indicates that 39.2% of the total B.C. applications (representing 9.4% of the national total) were accepted by OFY.

By comparing the distribution of submissions to the Treasury Board guideline, it is clear that the desired distribution would have required the selection of a disproportionately high percentage of proposals from the west and a correspondingly low percentage from the east. By comparing the acceptance rates for each region with the national average, it is evident that OFY did in fact select projects so as to approach the guideline, but apparently it was difficult to achieve the desired distribution while maintaining a uniformly high standard among projects.

A second relatively specific criterion was that the target group should be students, male or female, with particular emphasis on those in post-secondary institutions. There were no specific age limits, but for statistical purposes youth is usually defined as those aged 14 to 24 or 25. Table 4 compares the personal characteristics of the successful applicants with those of the entire group.

Although males and females were successful in roughly the same proportion as their rates of application - with a slight tendency to correct the traditional inequality - there were significant anomalies in the age and educational status of successful applicants. Over a quarter of the accepted projects were initiated and managed by persons over 26, and many of these were non-students. The older applicants, who submitted 40% of the proposals, may have been confused about the degree of

TABLE 4
Personal Characteristics of Applicants
(per cent)

| | Applicants | Successful Applicants | Acceptance Rate |
|----------------------|------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| <hr/> | | | |
| (a) <u>SEX</u> | | | |
| Male | 76.9 | 73.4 | 27.4 |
| Female | 23.1 | 26.6 | 33.1 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 28.7 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| (b) <u>AGE</u> | | | |
| Up to 18 | 6.4 | 6.2 | 27.7 |
| 19 - 21 | 22.1 | 23.3 | 30.3 |
| 22 - 25 | 31.3 | 42.1 | 38.6 |
| 26 and over | 40.2 | 28.4 | 20.3 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 28.7 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| (c) <u>EDUCATION</u> | | | |
| Secondary | 5.5 | 16.2 | 32.0 |
| Community College | 5.7 | 7.9 | 40.0 |
| University | 62.0 | 68.7 | 31.9 |
| Non-Student | 26.8 | 17.2 | 18.4 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 28.7 |
| <hr/> | | | |

youth involvement expected. Indeed the programme organizers did not intend to exclude agency or other non-student proposals automatically, but the fact that 17% of the project leaders were non-students must be considered as a fault of the selection process.

A third criterion concerned the number of jobs created by each project. Table 5 shows the distribution of projects by numbers of jobs.

TABLE 5
Proportion of Submissions Accepted
By Proposed Number of Jobs
(per cent)

| Number of Jobs | Submissions | Projects Funded | Acceptance Rate |
|-------------------|---------------------|---------------------|--------------------|
| 1 - 4 | 33.9 | 22.4 | 19.0 |
| 5 - 9 | 27.6 | 35.0 | 36.3 |
| 10 - 14 | 14.8 | 18.6 | 36.2 |
| 15 - 24 | 12.8 | 14.5 | 32.6 |
| 25 or over | 10.9 | 9.5 | 25.3 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 (n = 8050) | 100.0 (n = 2312) | 28.7 |

Opportunities for Youth was not supposed to fund proposals for fewer than three jobs except in very rare circumstances, and they were to emphasize projects that were viable and involved youth in all stages of the planning and management. The first restriction is quite clear cut, though the detailed Task Force analysis of accepted projects shows that about 3% created only one or two jobs. The second is less specific, but clearly mitigated against very large projects, which tended to be organized and directed centrally by small groups of administrators.

A fourth criterion was that applicants should have consulted existing service organizations where relevant to their proposals. Table 6 shows the sources of the proposal ideas, and Table 7 shows the degree of consultation with the relevant community groups.

TABLE 6

Sources of Ideas behind Proposal

(per cent)

| | Submissions | Projects Funded | Acceptance Rate |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Applicant alone | 45.1 | 33.0 | 21.0 |
| Personal contacts ⁽¹⁾ | 30.9 | 35.2 | 32.8 |
| Community contacts ⁽²⁾ | 24.0 | 31.8 | 38.0 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 28.7 |

(1) Includes professor, family, friend.

(2) Includes community groups, social agencies, government personnel

TABLE 7
Degree of Consultation behind Proposal
(per cent)

| Number of Groups Consulted (1) | Submissions | Projects Funded | Acceptance Rate |
|-----------------------------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| 0 | 14.7 | 5.6 | 13.3 |
| 1 | 13.1 | 15.9 | 32.9 |
| 2 | 15.7 | 13.4 | 25.6 |
| 3 | 4.7 | 8.7 | 42.7 |
| 4 or more | 51.8 | 56.4 | 30.5 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 28.7 |

(1) Includes social agencies, professionals, community leaders, local officials, target group and friends.

The project officers were clearly very careful to select those proposals that were not simply the idea of a single individual.

The remaining selection criteria were too broad or too vague to permit a direct analysis of the results of their application. Many other characteristics of funded projects became available during the course of the Task Force investigation, but the lack of corresponding information about the rejected submissions prevents a comparison. The analysis of accepted projects does show that 47% were planned entirely by members, and only 11% were planned entirely by non-project people; that about 85% created entirely new activities; and that the final ratio of post-secondary to secondary students (3.21:1) was quite close to the suggested 4:1.

A final comparison, of the kinds of activities, proved quite interesting, although it did not bear directly on the efficiency of the selection process. Opportunities for Youth did not distinguish between the various types of submissions, but the Task Force added this classification when analyzing the proposals. Table 8 shows the proportion of submissions accepted by type, while Table 9 gives a more detailed breakdown of the characteristics of the accepted projects.

TABLE 8
Proportion of Submissions Accepted by Submission Type
(per cent)

| Type | Submissions | Projects Funded | Acceptance Rate |
|----------------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Research | 36.6 | 33.4 | 26.2 |
| Recreation | 15.0 | 23.0 | 44.1 |
| Social Service | 38.3 | 32.9 | 24.6 |
| Cultural | 10.1 | 10.7 | 30.5 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 28.7 |

The differences in acceptance rates for various types of projects are very significant, for they point out some of the biases of the project officers and the programme itself. The high submission rates for research and social service projects were to be expected from a target group of post-secondary students seeking meaningful activity, but the acceptance rates point out that the preferences of the project officers lay elsewhere.

TABLE 9
Characteristics of Accepted Projects*

| | N | % |
|----------------------------|-------|------|
| Research | | |
| Environmental | 169 | 7.4 |
| Sociological | 162 | 7.1 |
| Community Service | 158 | 6.9 |
| Historical | 57 | 2.5 |
| Educational | 41 | 1.8 |
| Recreational | 41 | 1.8 |
| Natural Sciences | 38 | 1.7 |
| Ethnic | 30 | 1.3 |
| Other | 65 | 2.8 |
| Recreational | | |
| People oriented | 332 | 14.5 |
| Facility oriented | 204 | 8.9 |
| Social Service | | |
| Community Enrichment | 189 | 8.3 |
| Referral Agencies | 180 | 7.9 |
| Education | 94 | 4.1 |
| Pollution Clean-up | 75 | 3.3 |
| Drop-in Centers | 57 | 2.5 |
| Legal-Medical Aid | 43 | 1.9 |
| Rehabilitation Counselling | 37 | 1.6 |
| Day care centers | 23 | 1.0 |
| Other | 42 | 1.8 |
| Cultural | | |
| Theatre | 102 | 4.5 |
| Photography | 45 | 2.0 |
| Music | 34 | 1.5 |
| Crafts | 23 | 1.0 |
| Other | 37 | 1.6 |
| TOTAL | 2,312 | ** |

* The original 70 categories have been condensed into 23 for presentation in this Table.

** percentages do not add up to 100 due to rounding.

In addition to the analysis of the proposals on file at the OFY central office, the Task Force asked the applicants themselves a series of questions about the selection. As might be expected, there was a direct correlation between an applicant's attitude and the success of his proposal; of the successful applicants, 34% thought the selection process was fair and 18% thought it unfair, while for the unsuccessful ones the respective percentages were 16 and 35. Even the successful applicants, who were less critical of the process generally, had reservations about certain aspects. Table 10 shows the percentages of those who mentioned various specific improvements that should be made.

TABLE 10 (1)

Suggested Improvements in Selection Process

(per cent)

| | |
|--|------|
| Take more care | 21.9 |
| Require higher quality | 10.6 |
| Publish the criteria | 28.4 |
| Pick more socially worthwhile projects | 45.6 |
| Eliminate regional biases | 6.5 |

(1) The categories for this table were compiled from spontaneous responses to open-ended questions. Some respondents had more than one suggestion.

Almost half of the suggestions indicated that there was insufficient emphasis placed on the social value of projects, and nearly a third showed that the process was insufficiently rigorous. Over a quarter indicated that the selection criteria were insufficiently publicized - not surprising considering that 48% of the successful applicants stated they did not know whether or not the selection process was fair.

These constructive criticisms were, however, unavailable in April and May. Over-all, it seemed that the selection process operated unexpectedly well with the information available at the time. Where data were available for all submissions, the projects selected met the criteria at least as well as did those rejected. With the additional information available after the fact, a stronger emphasis might have been placed on certain characteristics, but considering the incredible pressures and goldfish-bowl atmosphere, it must be concluded that the project officers and selection committees managed to choose a remarkably diverse and viable group of projects.

FIELD SUPPORT

The final function of the administrative structure was to provide continuing support for projects during the summer. A complete analysis of this aspect is contained in the management study, and only a few salient points are presented here.

As noted earlier, considerable importance was attached to frequent consultation with project personnel. Table 11 displays the degree of contact between both OFY project officers and Citizenship Branch field staff and project leaders.

TABLE 11

Number of Contacts with Secretary of
State Officials (Citizenship Branch
or OFY Representatives)

(Per cent of project leaders, n = 356)

| Number of Contacts | S.O.S. Officials % |
|----------------------|-----------------------|
| 0 | 10.1 |
| 1 | 14.4 |
| 2 - 3 | 24.3 |
| 4 - 5 | 13.7 |
| 6 or more | 29.2 |
| Don't Know/No Answer | 8.3 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 |

In general, there was not enough contact to make any significant difference to the performance of the projects.² Moreover, the contact which did occur was often of the wrong nature. Table 12 shows the most often mentioned complaints of personnel who suggested particular failings in the nature of Opportunities for Youth field support.

TABLE 12

Participants' Complaints about OFY Field Support*

(Per cent of project participants, n = 802)

| | % |
|---|------|
| Insufficient communication between projects | 10.3 |
| Insufficient financial advice for projects | 12.7 |
| Insufficient contact with project workers | 19.4 |
| Insufficient advice for project workers | 12.6 |

* Open-ended question.

Although the field support was clearly inadequate, the programme's over-all concept remained unaffected. The summary findings of the management study are shown in Table 13.

-
2. A cross-tabulation of the number of contacts by their effect revealed no significant difference - participants reported uniformly that the contact they had with officials of the Department and/or OFY neither helped nor impeded the project.

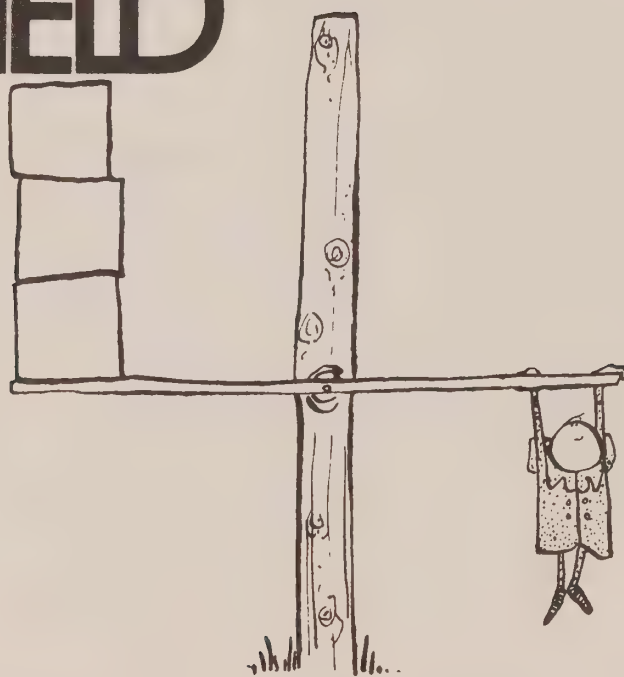
TABLE 13
Opportunities for Youth

| Summary-Programme Strengths | Summary-Programme Weaknesses |
|---|---|
| a. Highly Centralized Organization Structure. | a. Relationship with Permanent Citizenship Personnel. |
| b. The Role of Project Officer. | b. Project to Project Officer Ratios. |
| c. Simple Project Selection Criteria. | c. Inadequate Field Resource Support. |
| d. The Programme's People Orientation. | d. Inadequate Ottawa Field Liaison. |
| e. The Programme's Ottawa Staff. | e. Project Officer Role. |
| f. Special Financial Arrangements. | f. Centralized Organization Structure. |
| g. Co-operation from other Government Agencies. | g. Inadequate OFY Field Personnel. |
| h. Group Managed Projects. | h. Inadequate Programme Planning. |
| i. The Programme's Product. | i. Programme Promotion. |
| j. Public Support. | j. Internal Control and Information. |
| | k. Large Project Orientation |

Source: G. Forsyth and G. Ouellette. "Management Study of Summer '71." A report to the Evaluation Task Force, November 1971. In their report, the authors point out that different aspects of certain topics make them both strengths and weaknesses.

Their overwhelming conclusion was that the weaknesses lay in administrative failings that could be corrected with more adequate planning aided by this summers' experiences, while the strengths lay in the fundamental concept and selection techniques. The data available shows that a flexible and very loosely controlled selection process could function within the programme's very general guidelines and produce a broad range of worthwhile projects.

IN THE FIELD



CHAPTER 4

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH: IN THE FIELD

Once the projects had been selected, the major decision-making role of the government ended. Yet the real test of Opportunities for Youth occurred in the field. The success or failure of the programme in meeting its goals lay in the implications of the activities funded in local communities across Canada - implications over which the federal programme staff had little control.

As seen in Chapter 2, OFY's first major objective was to provide employment, particularly for post-secondary school students who needed money to finance their education. The second most important goal - and the one which gave the programme its uniqueness - could best be described as providing "meaningful activity". Finally, the programme was meant to foster national unity. The last of these is difficult to evaluate in relation to a programme like Opportunities for Youth.

National unity, in its more amorphous interpretation, entails the promotion and intensification of some sense of patriotism or national solidarity. This interpretation is so general that it is difficult to see which decisions during implementation would promote it. In terms of evaluating its realization by Opportunities for Youth, every fact about the

programme may or may not be relevant. There is no easy formula for isolating the contribution of this programme to a sense of national pride from that of the innumerable other factors which might affect Canadian unity in the broad sense.

It might be argued that the very existence of OFY had an effect on the image which Canadians have of their country and their government. But whether this effect was unifying or not would probably depend more on the previous political convictions of each individual than on the success or failure of the programme.

If "promoting national unity" is given a more specific interpretation, such as ending the potentially disintegrative discontent of a particular regional or linguistic group in Canada - then its realization evidently requires the structural changes in political, economic or social relationships pertinent to this discontent. A short-term programme with the other objectives of Opportunities for Youth can have no immediate relevance to this problem.

Lacking a concrete definition of "national unity" as it applies to Opportunities for Youth, and in the absence of specific criteria for the attainment of it as a goal, the Task Force has no indicators to measure the programme's success in this regard.

EMPLOYMENT

Opportunities for Youth and the other Summer '71 programmes sprang originally from the government's apprehension that youth unemployment would be critically high in the summer months. Abnormally high general unemployment in 1970 and 1971 made entry into the labour force increasingly difficult for those lacking special skills or experience. Young people were among those most severely affected,¹ and the short-term requirements of students have consequently become even more difficult to meet.

Youth unemployment rates have been consistently higher than those of the general labour force since the Second World War, and this disproportion has been increasing at a steady rate. Downswings in the business cycle and regional disparities have affected the young particularly adversely. In addition, their participation rate has increased.² However, rising participation rates cannot disguise the fact that many young people, despairing of ever finding a job, have dropped out of the labour force. The high unemployment rates do not adequately reflect the actual size of this group.

1. Economic Council of Canada. *Eighth Annual Review*, September, 1971.

2. Student participation rate =
$$\frac{\text{students with jobs plus students looking for jobs}}{\text{total number of students}} \times 100$$

These high youth unemployment rates are severely compounded in the summer period by the release of nearly two and a half million students from educational institutions. Not all of these students seek work; many travel or engage in recreational activities at home. But a large proportion, particularly among university students, need to earn money in order to continue their education.

It was to reduce the over-all level of student summer unemployment that Opportunities for Youth was devised. In addition, certain refinements were made in the formulation of goals for Opportunities for Youth. Because university and other post-secondary school students need more money to continue their education, the programme was to provide jobs for post-secondary and secondary students in a ratio of four to one. To remove regional disparities in job opportunities, Opportunities for Youth would follow a formula for the regional allocation of funds which took into account the projected distribution of post-secondary student unemployment and student migratory patterns within Canada.

Table 1 provides the basic source data from which measures of the programme's success or failure can be derived.

TABLE 1

Student Labour Force, Summer 1971 (1)
(All figures in thousands)

| | Total | Atl. | Que. | Ont. | Pr. | B.C. |
|-------------------------------|-------|------|------|------|------|------|
| <u>Population</u> | 2418 | 241 | 674 | 878 | 398 | 224 |
| (14 years or over) | | | | | | |
| Secondary | 1995 | 204 | 545 | 725 | 332 | 187 |
| Post-secondary(4) | 423 | 37 | 129 | 153 | 66 | 37 |
| <u>Labour Force</u> | 1191 | 106 | 284 | 480 | 204 | 117 |
| Secondary | 799 | 70 | 163 | 335 | 147 | 84 |
| Post-secondary | 392 | 36 | 121 | 145 | 57 | 33 |
| <u>Employed</u> | 973 | 84 | 207 | 402 | 180 | 100 |
| Secondary | 622 | 52 | 108 | 267 | 126 | 69 |
| Post-secondary | 351 | 32 | 99 | 135 | 54 | 31 |
| <u>Unemployed</u> | 218 | 22 | 77 | 78 | 24 | 17 |
| Secondary | 177 | 18 | 55 | 68 | 21 | 15 |
| Post-secondary | 41 | 4 | 22 | 10 | 3 | 2 |
| <u>Unemployment Rate</u> (2) | 18.3 | 20.8 | 26.8 | 16.3 | 11.8 | 14.5 |
| Secondary | 22.2 | 26.2 | 33.5 | 20.4 | 14.6 | 17.7 |
| Post-secondary | 11.0 | 11.0 | 18.0 | 7.0 | 6.0 | 6.0 |
| <u>Participation Rate</u> (3) | 58.4 | 52.0 | 50.8 | 63.5 | 60.9 | 62.6 |
| Secondary | 50.0 | 42.9 | 38.9 | 56.1 | 54.7 | 55.7 |
| Post-secondary | 89.0 | 91.0 | 86.0 | 91.0 | 88.0 | 90.0 |

- (1) Based on data from Statistics Canada (Labour Force Survey Supplementary Questions on Students, September 1971), and Summer Employment Survey of Post-secondary Students in Canada, 1971 (Dept. Manpower and Immigration, Preliminary Report). All absolute figures are in thousands of individuals.
- (2) Percentage of the student labour force who did not find a summer job.
- (3) Percentage of students returning to school in September who entered the labour force in the summer.
- (4) Includes universities, teachers' colleges, CEGEP's and community colleges. Excludes nursing schools, private trade schools, business colleges and adult training colleges.

Viewed from a national perspective the impact of the summer programme on total student unemployment was small. Although much expanded over the summer '70 effort, the \$67.2 million eventually allocated by the federal government still did not prevent this summer's unemployment from increasing.

Table 2 shows that the unemployment rate for students rose by 1% between the summers of 1970 and 1971, while the percentage of students looking for a job rose by 3.5%. The rise in both figures was entirely due to the influx of secondary students into the summer labour force (whereas the percentage of post-secondary students seeking employment actually declined during this period). It is true that the labour market absorbed some of the extra secondary students, but the fact remains that the increased hiring did not diminish the problem of summer student unemployment; it only inhibited its increase.

An examination of how many students were hired in 1971 by the private sector and the three levels of government furnishes a more precise measure of the impact of these programmes. Table 3 reveals that 24.0% of the student labour force remained after the private sector and other levels of government had completed their hiring. Opportunities for Youth only involved 2.3% of the student labour force and the other federal government programmes employed another 3.3%; the remaining 18.3% did not find any jobs at all.³

3. Bearing in mind that some students did not join the labour force because they assumed that they would not find a job - the so-called "discouraged workers" hypothesis - the figures tend to underestimate those who would have accepted paid work if it had been offered.

TABLE 2
Changes in National Student Participation
and Unemployment Rates by Education Level

| | Participation ⁽¹⁾ | | | Unemployment ⁽²⁾ | | |
|----------------|------------------------------|------|---------|-----------------------------|------|---------|
| | 1970 | 1971 | | 1970 | 1971 | |
| | % | % | (000's) | % | % | (000's) |
| Secondary | 42.6 | 50.0 | 392 | 21.0 | 22.2 | 177 |
| Post-secondary | 90.2 | 89.0 | 799 | 11.0 | 11.0 | 41 |
| TOTAL | 54.8 | 58.4 | 1191 | 17.0 | 18.0 | 218 |

(1) Defined as the percentage of students who entered the labour force during the summer.

(2) Defined as the percentage of the student labour force who did not find a summer job.

Source: Program Development Service, National Labour Market Division, Department of Manpower and Immigration.

Of course, the total amount of federal employment which would be created was known in advance, since it depended on the amount allocated and the wage paid to each individual. Given these factors as constraints, it is possible to ask whether the programme fulfilled the subsidiary objectives of (a) distributing the funds so as to minimize regional disparities, and (b) giving higher priority to post-secondary as compared to secondary students.

TABLE 3
Effect of Federal Government Hiring
On Student Unemployment 1971

| | | % |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|--------|
| Student Labour Force | 1,191,000 | 100.00 |
| Hired by Non-Federal Sector | 906,672 | 76.12 |
| Residual Unemployment | 284,328 | 23.88 |
| Hired by Federal Sector: | 66,428 | 5.58 |
| - Militia, Cadet, Civilian Training | 15,450 | (1.30) |
| - Public Service | 23,146 | (1.94) |
| - Opportunities for Youth | 27,832 | (2.34) |
| Remaining Unemployed | 217,900 | 18.30 |

Source: Statistics Canada (Labour Force Survey Supplement on Students, September 1971) and Department of Manpower and Immigration (Summer Employment Survey of Post-Secondary Students, 1971).

Table 4 compares the proposed allocation of funds with the actual allocation, and also shows the actual regional distribution of students not employed by either the private sector or non-federal levels of government.

TABLE 4

Distribution of OFY Funds and Residual

Student Unemployment by Region

(per cent)

| | Treasury Board guideline (1) | Actual OFY funds (2) | Actual student residual Unemployment(3) |
|----------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Atlantic | 10.0 | 11.9 | 11.0 |
| Quebec | 36.0 | 39.3 | 34.0 |
| Ontario | 21.0 | 21.2 | 34.0 |
| Prairies | 21.0 | 15.7 | 13.0 |
| B.C. | 12.0 | 10.3 | 8.0 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 98.4 | 100.0 |

- (1) Based on projections of regional levels of post-secondary student unemployment and estimates of internal immigration patterns.
- (2) Excludes national projects (1.6% of total).
- (3) The percentage of students not hired by private sector or non-federal levels of government.

This last figure indicates the real distribution of need, as determined at the end of the summer. The actual distribution of OFY funds corresponded to the Treasury Board's guideline only in Ontario; but where it deviated, it was usually in the direction of the real need.

A precise quantitative assessment of the effect of the programme on unemployment rates is given in Table 5, which shows a regional breakdown of student unemployment, and the effect of Opportunities for Youth on these rates.

TABLE 5
Effect of OFY on Student Unemployment
By Region

| | Distribution of Student Labour Force | Distribution of Student Unemployment | Distribution of OFY Employment | Reduction in Student Unemployment Rate due due to OFY |
|----------|--|---|---|---|
| | | % | | % |
| Atlantic | 106,000 | 20.8 | 3,321 | 3.13 |
| Quebec | 284,000 | 26.8 | 10,276 | 3.62 |
| Ontario | 480,000 | 16.3 | 6,072 | 1.27 |
| Prairies | 204,000 | 11.8 | 4,385 | 2.15 |
| B.C. | 117,000 | 14.5 | 3,485 | 2.98 |
| TOTAL | 1,191,000 | 18.3 | 27,539 ⁽¹⁾ | 2.34 |

(1) Excluding the 293 jobs created by national projects.

Source: Statistics Canada (Labour Force Survey Supplementary Questions on Students, September 1971), and Summer Employment Survey of Post-Secondary Students in Canada, 1971 (Dept. of Manpower and Immigration, Preliminary Report).

The difference was greatest in Quebec and least in Ontario.

Although Opportunities for Youth was unable to overcome the regional disparities built into the other student hiring programmes in summer 1971, it did manage to approximate the required 4:1 ratio of jobs for post-secondary school and secondary school respectively. In this sense, the programme met its goal. However, as shown previously in Table 2, the entire Summer '71 programme, in spite of its increased expenditures, did not reduce the level of actual summer unemployment for either group in comparison to the level in summer 1970. Moreover, by focussing mostly on post-secondary school students, the planners of Summer '71, more or less left secondary school students to fend for themselves. The national unemployment rate for secondary students in summer 1971 remained almost twice that of post-secondary students.

The major reason why planners decided to provide more jobs for post-secondary school students was that such students needed more money in order to continue their education. Some background information on the costs of education is necessary in order to assess the effectiveness of Opportunities for Youth in providing such financial support. It is given in Table 6.

TABLE 6
Expenditure of Post-Secondary School Students
in Canada, by General Study Programme, 1968-69^{*}

| Study Programme | Median Expenditure ^{**} (Dollars) |
|--|---|
| Graduate student | 2,824 |
| University Undergraduate | 1,618 |
| Nursing | 668 |
| Teacher training | 1,064 |
| Other (includes Community Colleges, CEGEP's, training programmes, etc.) | 1,086 |
| All programmes combined | 1,483 |

Source: Statistics Canada. Post-secondary Student Population Survey, 1968-69.

* Although more recent accurate figures are not available, it may be assumed that the rise in the cost of living, coupled with fee increases of the last two years would make the 1971-72 costs somewhat more than those shown.

** Because the range in each category is so broad, the median (the mid-point figure above which and below which the number of responses is equal) is a more representative figure than the average.

The median expenditure for all post-secondary students is \$1,483. Thus, if most Opportunities for Youth participants were representative of the post-secondary student population, their earnings from their work on a project would have to be large enough to allow them to save at least \$1,483. Table 7 describes the earnings of students by educational level.

TABLE 7
Earnings of OFY Participants
By Education Level
(per cent)

| | Secondary Students | Post-Secondary Students | Non Students |
|-------------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| Less than \$600 | 44.7 | 10.4 | 8.7 |
| \$600 - \$899 | 29.9 | 18.2 | 36.2 |
| \$900 - \$999 | 10.4 | 22.0 | 22.8 |
| \$1,000 - \$1,099 | 15.0 | 41.0 | 29.7 |
| \$1,100 and over | 0.0 | 8.4 | 2.6 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Average Earnings | \$681 | \$919 | \$847 |

Source: Task Force weighted sample of 802 participants.

No secondary school students and only 8.4% of post-secondary school students earned \$1,100 or more. More than half of post-secondary school students earned less than \$1,000. In fact the average cost of a year of post-secondary education is 71% higher than the average of these students' earnings from OFY. Moreover, it was students' summer savings which would have to meet their educational costs.

TABLE 8
Savings of OFY Participants
by Education Level
(per cent)

| | Secondary Students | Post-Secondary Students | Non Students |
|-----------------|-----------------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| None | 14.4 | 13.1 | 46.2 |
| Less than \$200 | 33.3 | 14.8 | 22.2 |
| \$200 - \$399 | 25.2 | 28.0 | 17.4 |
| \$400 - \$599 | 17.3 | 26.3 | 11.2 |
| \$600 and over | 9.8 | 17.8 | 3.0 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Average Savings | \$259 | \$355 | \$157 |

Source: See Table 7.

More than 56% of post-secondary school students who participated in Opportunities for Youth saved less than \$400; only about 18% were able to save more than \$600; 13% saved no money at all.

The average cost of education is over four times the average of their savings. Indeed, 15.2% of post-secondary school students were unable even to pay their living expenses for the summer with their Opportunities for Youth salary. In attempting to employ so many people with such a limited budget, Opportunities for Youth came nowhere near to providing adequate money for post-secondary students to continue their education.

Viewed in relation to previous years, Opportunities for Youth only reduced the rise in the summer unemployment rate; because of its budget constraints, the programme was unable to lower this rate from what it had been the previous year. In fact, the programme only employed 2.34% of the student labour force in summer 1971. For that matter, the entire Summer '71 programme only eliminated 5.6% of this labour force from the unemployment rolls; 18.3% still remained without jobs after hiring by other governments and the private sector. In spite of some problems with its original allocation of funds by region, Opportunities for Youth made a modest contribution to removing regional disparities in student job opportunities, although the other federal hiring programmes quickly cancelled out this advantage. Finally, by not providing enough money for post-secondary school students to continue their education, Opportunities for Youth did not achieve its main employment rationale. In terms of its own employment goals, Opportunities for Youth was a case of too little spread too thinly.

It is even very questionable whether Opportunities for Youth should actually have been an employment programme in any sense. The problem of student summer unemployment is rooted in some very stubborn realities.

A serious attack on student summer unemployment would involve, at the very least, some changes in the structure of the school year so that the seasonal influx of students onto the labour market is not so intense. One solution would be to eliminate the cost of education to the student - one of the major reasons why students have to seek summer work. If this did not prove feasible, a more sweeping approach would require some restructuring of the Canadian economy so that it could absorb more students; likely such a policy would involve a dramatic increase in the public and service sectors of the economy.

However, there is no reason why an attack upon unemployment should limit itself to the summer months or benefit only students. The disproportionately high levels of unemployment among youth in general and other social groupings point to the need for structural changes which would remove the incapacity of the economy to absorb them productively. These changes should not provide just meaningless tasks; in simple economic terms, it would be necessary to end the economic waste implicit in the misuse of human resources which is unemployment.

MEANINGFUL ACTIVITY

The second major goal of Opportunities for Youth concerned the quality of the employment it should provide. The experimental nature of the programme was derived from this effort to provide activities which were meaningful, and it was this aspect which distinguished it from all the government's other summer programmes. Given the shortcomings of Opportunities for Youth as an employment programme and the unspecified nature of the goal associated with National Unity, OFY must stand or fall on its effectiveness in providing these "meaningful activities."

Implicit in the concept of "meaningful activities" was the recognition of the relationship between high student unemployment and the possibility of student unrest, and the planners of Opportunities for Youth realized that no programme providing simply meaningless make-work would be satisfactory. The effects of a combination of difficult social and economic factors common to students were essentially viewed in isolation from the broad structural relationships defining Canadian society and which the young criticize, thus further rationalizing the choice of students as the group to be assisted by Opportunities for Youth. Any benefit to the community would, of course, be a welcome side-effect.

Essentially, meaningful activity was defined as activity which was personally satisfying to the young persons receiving the money. Ideally, it also required some degree of personal development by those who took part. A necessary condition for the realization of these subjective qualities was that young persons define the activity they chose for themselves.

For this reason, the Task Force tried to measure the extent to which young persons thought that they themselves had initiated projects and controlled them through some form of participatory structure. To determine the personal satisfaction young persons got out of their activity, the Task Force examined participants' views of the quality of interpersonal interaction among project members. Thirdly, in order to measure personal development, it is important to discover the motives for participants' involvement in projects as well as the nature of any changes in their personal orientation brought about by project involvement. Finally, evaluation necessitates examination of the participants' view of the contribution of their project to the benefit of the community at large.

According to the original selection criteria established by the Treasury Board, "young people should be involved in the planning, management, and evaluation of projects." These are very general terms and much of the planning and management of Opportunities for Youth summer projects may, in fact, have been the work of young people. On the other hand, if by "young people" was meant "project participants", it appears that this criterion was not satisfied as well as might have been expected.

In only 59% of the projects sampled by the Task Force was the project leader the person who had submitted the original proposal. The remaining 41% of project leaders had been called in by the applicant at a later stage. They were used either during the selection process to satisfy the requirement of "youth involvement", or even later to administer an already approved project. The qualitative data collected by Task Force field interviewers indicated that a significant number of these late arrivals had taken no active part whatever in the planning process.

For the remaining project staff the situation was similar. Table 9 shows the participants' view of what stimulated them to take an active part in projects.

TABLE 9

Stimulus for Active Involvement
on Project
(for project staff excluding leader)

| | | % |
|---|-----|-------|
| Acquaintance with project proposer | 132 | 29.6 |
| Participation in organization of idea | 69 | 15.5 |
| Parents, teachers familiar with project proposer | 20 | 4.5 |
| Friends | 104 | 23.3 |
| Answer to advertisement | 22 | 5.1 |
| Government Agency | 36 | 8.1 |
| Other | 63 | 13.9 |
| <hr/> | | |
| TOTAL | 446 | 100.0 |

Fewer than one in five of the project staff had been involved in the original planning process; fewer than half had any relationship, direct or indirect, with the initiation of their projects.

Once projects began their operations, the situation greatly improved. Table 10 describes the view those working on projects had of the extent of their involvement in decision-making.

TABLE 10
Frequency of Participation in Decision-Making
(for project staff excluding leader)

| | | % |
|------------------|-----|-------|
| Not at all | 17 | 3.8 |
| Rarely | 36 | 8.1 |
| Sometimes | 59 | 13.3 |
| Most of the time | 180 | 40.7 |
| At all times | 151 | 34.1 |
| <hr/> | | |
| TOTAL | 443 | 100.0 |
| <hr/> | | |

Seventy-five per cent of participants believed that they were involved in decisions at least part of the time. In fact, only one out of eight of the project workers took almost no part in the decision-making process.

However, there was a direct correlation between the size of a project and the degree to which its members were involved in planning and decision-making. For all types and in all regions, smaller projects were more truly democratic than were larger ones. Table 11 demonstrates these relationships.

Table 11

Effect of Project Size on
Planning and Decision-Making

(absolute frequency and column percentages)

| A: PLANNING | Project Size | | | Total |
|---|-----------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| | less than 10 | 10- 15 | over 15 | |
| Project Planned: (by decreasing involvement) | | | | |
| Entirely by members | 572 51.6 | 189 45.2 | 158 38.7 | 919 47.5 |
| Aided by consultant | 146 13.2 | 47 11.2 | 48 11.7 | 241 12.4 |
| Jointly by project and non-project personnel | 308 27.7 | 122 29.2 | 137 33.5 | 567 29.3 |
| Entirely by non-project personnel | 83 7.5 | 60 14.4 | 66 16.1 | 209 10.8 |
| TOTAL | 1109 100.0 | 418 100.0 | 409 100.0 | 1936 100.0 |

TABLE 11

| B: DECISION-MAKING Decisions made: (by decreasing democracy) | Project Size | | | |
|--|-------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| | Number of Members | | | Total |
| | less than 10 | 10-15 | over 15 | |
| Democratically | 518 47.0 | 169 47.3 | 124 30.3 | 811 43.3 |
| Elected representatives | 73 6.6 | 34 9.5 | 31 7.6 | 138 7.4 |
| Self-appointed representatives | 111 10.0 | 46 12.8 | 52 12.7 | 209 11.2 |
| Assisted by Consultant | 114 10.3 | 45 12.6 | 53 13.0 | 212 11.3 |
| Mostly by non-project personnel | 288 26.1 | 64 17.8 | 149 36.4 | 501 26.8 |
| TOTAL | 1104 100.0 | 358 100.0 | 409 100.0 | 1871 100.0 |

Another important barometer of youth involvement was the degree to which projects had agency backing. Nationally, 30.3% of projects were initiated by social service or other formal agencies, 17.2% were initiated by citizens' groups or other "grass-roots" organizations, and the remaining 52.5% were entirely conceived by youth. Since these ratios varied quite widely from region to region and from large cities to rural communities, measuring the influence of agency backing

accurately required consideration both of community size and of region. A detailed study was thus done of the final reports submitted to Opportunities for Youth by 149 of the 174 projects within the city of Toronto. With this controlled sample, it was discovered that agency backing, like project size, was an important determinant of participant involvement.

TABLE 12

Effect of Project Initiation on Planning and Decision-Making
(absolute frequency and *column percentages*)

| A. PLANNING | | Project Initiation | | |
|---|-----------------------|--------------------|-------------------|--------------|
| Project Planned: (by decreasing involvement) | Project Initiated By: | | | Total |
| | Formal Agency | Grass Roots | Entirely Youth | |
| Entirely by members | 3 6.3 | 16 43.3 | 43 67.2 | 62 41.6 |
| Aided by consultant | 12 25.0 | 6 16.2 | 11 17.2 | 29 19.5 |
| Jointly by project and non-project personnel | 10 20.8 | 12 32.4 | 8 12.5 | 30 20.1 |
| Entirely by non-project personnel | 23 47.9 | 3 8.1 | 2 3.1 | 28 18.8 |
| TOTAL | 48 100.0 | 37 100.0 | 64 100.0 | 149 100.0 |

TABLE 12

| B. DECISION-MAKING (by decreasing democracy) | Project Initiation | | | |
|---|-----------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------|
| | Project Initiated by: | | | |
| | Formal Agency | Grass Roots | Entirely Youth | Total |
| Democratically | 1 2.1 | 5 13.5 | 29 46.1 | 35 23.6 |
| Elected representatives | 3 6.3 | 6 16.2 | 2 3.2 | 11 7.4 |
| Self-appointed representatives | 23 46.9 | 21 56.8 | 21 33.3 | 65 44.0 |
| Assisted by Consultant | 6 10.4 | 3 8.1 | 6 9.5 | 14 9.5 |
| Mostly by non-project personnel | 16 34.3 | 2 5.4 | 5 7.9 | 23 15.5 |
| TOTAL | 49 100.0 | 37 100.0 | 63 100.0 | 149 100.0 |

As seen in Table 12, projects that had been initiated by agencies were less likely to have had participants involved in the initial planning stages and were far less democratically run than were projects initiated by young people alone.

The participants' total involvement in all aspects of the design and management of projects offers one of the major advantages of a programme like Opportunities for Youth,⁴ as it is the characteristic that separates this type of summer job from

4. Of the participants on projects where the leader did not play a strong leadership role, 80% said they preferred it that way.

those traditionally available to students. The data presented above make it quite clear that this participatory experience is difficult to obtain in a project that was conceived, not by young people themselves, but either by a formal agency, or one that is too large to allow the complete involvement of all concerned.

It must be noted that a project can be democratic without all participants necessarily sharing equally in the work and in the rewards. Over two-thirds of the project participants sampled by the Task Force said that there was some bias in the distribution of work and rewards in their projects, with males, secondary students, and project leaders apparently the favoured groups. This inequity however, does not appear to have damaged interpersonal relationships between project participants. As revealed in Table 13, over 85% of participants viewed the relationships among project members as good to excellent.

TABLE 13
Relationship Among Members on Projects
(leaders and staff combined)

| | | % |
|-----------|-----|-------|
| Excellent | 339 | 42.6 |
| Good | 353 | 44.4 |
| Fair | 83 | 10.4 |
| Poor | 17 | 2.1 |
| Terrible | 4 | 0.5 |
| TOTAL | 796 | 100.0 |

An even better indicator of the quality of interpersonal relationships is displayed in Table 14.

TABLE 14
Number of Staff Leaving Project

| | | % |
|------------|-----|-------|
| None | 192 | 54.7 |
| 1 | 86 | 24.5 |
| 2 | 38 | 10.8 |
| 3 - 5 | 26 | 7.4 |
| 6 - 10 | 5 | 1.4 |
| 11 or more | 4 | 1.2 |
| TOTAL | 351 | 100.0 |

It may be assumed that if participants had been dissatisfied with the democracy of their projects they would have left, yet staff turnover was very low. The average project employed between 12 and 13 paid workers (with perhaps a few volunteers) but in only 10% of them did more than two participants leave before the end of the summer.

One possible explanation for the very low turnover is that most of the project personnel were highly committed to their work. Half of the project leaders and one third of the project staff had organized at least one project of some type in the past, and, as shown in Table 15, even higher percentages would consider

continuing their present work as a career.⁵

TABLE 15

Willingness to Consider Project Job as a Career

| Project Leaders | | | Project Staff | |
|-----------------|-----|-------|---------------|-------|
| | | % | | % |
| Yes | 202 | 61.5 | 226 | 51.1 |
| No | 95 | 29.0 | 178 | 40.3 |
| Not Certain | 31 | 9.5 | 38 | 8.6 |
| TOTAL | 328 | 100.0 | 442 | 100.0 |

It is thus not surprising that very few of the participants viewed their projects as "just another job."

TABLE 16

Reasons for Working on Project

| Project Leaders | | | Project Staff | |
|-------------------------|-----|-------|---------------|-------|
| | | % | | % |
| Money alone | 11 | 3.1 | 50 | 11.2 |
| Money and other reasons | 186 | 52.2 | 301 | 67.2 |
| Other reasons entirely | 145 | 40.7 | 93 | 20.8 |
| Not Certain | 14 | 4.0 | 4 | 0.8 |
| TOTAL | 356 | 100.0 | 448 | 100.0 |

⁵. About 17% of each group had not considered this type of career prior to their experience this summer.

One in five project participants was working for reasons entirely other than money, and this proportion was twice as high for project leaders. Considering that these respondents were mostly students who needed summer earnings to continue their education, these figures are a dramatic demonstration of the enthusiasm generated by Opportunities for Youth.

The planners of Opportunities for Youth had hoped for such enthusiasm. They also hoped that the youthful participants in the programme would see their particular meaningful activity as producing not only benefits for themselves but for the community which it served.

Although 14.6% of all participants admitted that their projects were duplicating existing services, Table 17 reveals that almost 94% believed their work at least somewhat relevant to community needs.

TABLE 17
Relevance of Project to Community Needs
(leaders and staff combined)

| | | % |
|------------|-----|-------|
| Very | 580 | 72.6 |
| Somewhat | 170 | 21.2 |
| Irrelevant | 32 | 4.0 |
| Unsure | 18 | 2.2 |
| TOTAL | 800 | 100.0 |

Moreover, 80% of participants felt that their work would lead to the development of similar projects in the future. It does not really matter whether or not this estimate is a realistic one; what is important is that they were enthusiastic and optimistic about the value of their summer employment.

As a final measure of the success of Opportunities for Youth in reaching young people, the Task Force asked participants whether they thought that Opportunities for Youth was different from the usual government programmes. Over three-quarters of the respondents said that it was; fully 56% said that it was a very different venture indeed.

The programme rated high in almost all the indicators of meaningful activity conceived by the Task Force; the only sense in which Opportunities for Youth did not perform well was in involving participants in the initiation of projects. However, there was a high level of participation in decision-making within projects once they had begun to get fully under way. Although there were certain inequities in the allotment of rewards, work and roles, the quality of interpersonal interaction was usually very good. In spite of a certain, very qualified concern about the execution of projects, most participants agreed with project goals and believed the project itself was relevant to community needs. Finally, because of its good performance along all these other dimensions, almost half of the participants indicated that their taking part in a project had contributed to their own personal growth.

There can be no doubt, then, that Opportunities for Youth was a resounding success in providing "meaningful" activities for a selected group of young persons - mostly students and particularly post-secondary school students.

CONCLUSIONS

It has never been clear to what extent national unity was meant to be a goal for Opportunities for Youth. Although it was listed by the Cabinet in the document outlining all of the summer programmes, it does not appear in the Treasury Board criteria specifically developed for Opportunities for Youth, and the programme itself did not have any criteria which it applied to projects to measure their potential for promoting a sense of national identity.

Student summer unemployment; rather than being an isolated problem, must be seen in a larger and more complex context. The entry into the labour market of significant numbers of unskilled workers is a function of the traditional university year. Few economies are sufficiently flexible to utilize such massive temporary influxes of people who are not regular participants in the labour market.

Because they are not regular members of the labour force, students are not, properly speaking, unemployed during the summer; rather, they must be considered temporarily inactive. They come to be regarded as unemployed because they must earn a given amount for their return to school. The problem of student summer unemployment, therefore, is a problem of providing access to a year of education, be it by altering the amount required or by ensuring that most students will be able to earn and save the necessary amount. For example, if the university year were 12 months and/or students were paid salaries to attend, there would be no student unemployment problem, nor would the money to pay the salaries be a direct result of some adjustment in the labour force.

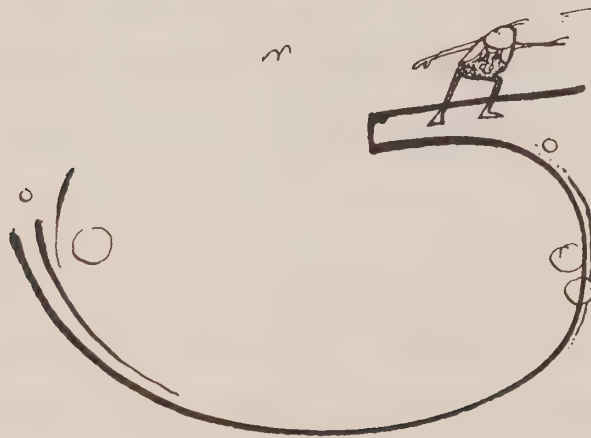
Although OFY did provide some income for some students, it did nothing to alter the conditions which create student unemployment. Further, the relatively small number of students it employed, and the small amounts that they reported they were able to save, indicate that OFY did little to alleviate the existing problem. In addition, the salaries provided tended to preclude the participation of those people who had no other sources from which to pay for their education, which meant that OFY did not provide income to those post-secondary students who were the most needy. Structured as it was, Opportunities for Youth can probably not be truly identified as an employment programme.

Crucial to an examination of OFY is an understanding of the government decision that the most appropriate method of alleviating student unemployment and possible unrest was the provision of "meaningful activity". The "meaningful" nature of the activity must be measured in terms of those to whom the programme was primarily geared - i.e., students. It is here that Opportunities for Youth was most successful. The data has shown that the students who participated felt they were involved in worthwhile activity of benefit to others; they engaged in a wide range of interesting projects; they felt they had learned something in the process; and they enjoyed themselves. It may be said, then, that the outstanding achievement of Opportunities for Youth was its ability to provide students, as the target group, with activities they considered worthwhile.

Less clear is the programme's indirect benefit for communities through financial support of projects based on student-identified priorities. One must question, too, the selection of students as the sole target group, as the beneficiaries of opportunities for "meaningful activity". Students were singled out for two reasons: their need for money to continue their education, and their vociferousness and visibility relative to other groups of unemployed. The failure of the programme to meet the first characteristic as well as the inappropriateness of the employment goal have already been documented. But despite their vociferousness and visibility, it must be recognized that post-secondary students, do not necessarily constitute those most in need of "meaningful activity".

It is quite possible that it would be more useful to direct the programme to disadvantaged groups, such as the rural and urban poor and certain ethnic groups. Certainly, such a programme would be a welcome alternative to paternalistically administered welfare subsidies; the disadvantaged would be able to define and control the activities which they felt would improve their lot. Activities directed at these groups would also likely be far more beneficial in the long run than those conceived by students as an interesting way to spend the summer. These groups would see the programme as a method of grappling experimentally with their own constricting social and economic realities. Such a change might also make more clear the relationship between meaningful activities and community benefit. There was no guarantee in summer 1971, that young people's perceptions of community benefit would coincide with those of the community which needed the benefit.

COMMUNITY & NATIONAL RESPONSE



CHAPTER 5

OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH:

COMMUNITY AND NATIONAL RESPONSE

COMMUNITY RESPONSE

In its own terms, the success or failure of Opportunities for Youth depended on its capacity for providing students with the resources to create their own activities and experiences. Although the government did not want to risk offending major segments of the adult population by funding highly controversial projects, neither popularity nor immediate community benefit could become primary goals of the programme. Certainly it is possible that centralization of control over the selection process would increase public acceptance and fulfilment of local needs.

However, the level of awareness of the Opportunities for Youth programme was much higher in communities and neighbourhoods where there was a project. In contrast to the general population, members of these communities had a concrete experience of the programme. As a result, their comments on OFY would be far more detailed, pointed and informed than those of the general population.

For this reason, community response to the programme is useful in pinpointing the strengths and weaknesses of Opportunities for Youth which should be considered by those planning a similar programme in the future. Another input into such planning should be the pattern and content of the expectations raised by the programme within the community. Finally, the community response should throw some light on the extent to which the programme actually did provide some benefit to the community.

The Task Force surveyed three groups of community persons: project clientele, professionals and community leaders. The project clientele were those directly served by individual projects. The professionals were persons who did not participate in projects but sympathized with their aims and were relatively expert in the type of service the project provided.

The community leaders were essentially the opinion leaders in the locality, a very diverse group which included municipal politicians, public servants, elected representatives, businessmen, union leaders, social agency directors, heads of citizens groups and newsmen.

It was possible to characterize these groups along other lines as well. Included in the project clientele were more women, young people, the less educated, more people with Francophone, or ethnic backgrounds, the less affluent, and workers with fewer skills than in the other groups. The professionals were

the most affluent and educated of all three groups, although they were generally younger than the community leaders. The community leaders, other than in age, were found somewhere between the other two groups. The characteristics of the different groups of community people were important factors in shaping each group's response to Opportunities for Youth.

Before examining the opinions of these groups it is necessary to examine and compare the extent of these groups' involvement in projects, as this could affect their knowledge about the programme, and their attitude to it. We saw in Chapter 4 that participation in decision-making was significant in the overall value of each project. Therefore, the degree of community involvement¹ in the project will be one measure of community benefit, in the sense of its enabling community persons - particular project clientele - to undertake meaningful activities. In essence, the programme may be judged as having been of community benefit to the extent that the social awareness of the project clientele was increased along with that of the project participants.

1. In preparing the tables for this section of the Report, the Task Force realized that some projects, particularly research oriented ones, might have a less obvious constituency than others, and consequently would be less likely to engage in some types of consultation. Cross-tabulations of the contact and consultative factors by type of project, however, reveal no significant difference between type of project and community involvement, and consequently the data includes all projects.

There are many levels of involvement. Perhaps the simplest is contact between project participants and members of the community.

Table 1 describes the number in each group involved at this level.

TABLE 1
Contact with Project Leaders and Participants
By Type of Community Respondent (1)
(Per Cent)

| | <u>Project Clientele</u> | | <u>Professionals</u> | | <u>Community Leaders</u> | |
|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| | Contact with Leader | Contact with Staff | Contact with Leader | Contact with Staff | Contact with Leader | Contact with Staff |
| None | 25.6 | 16.3 | 3.2 | 12.8 | 18.4 | 28.3 |
| Some | 36.9 | 40.4 | 34.2 | 42.2 | 38.1 | 31.6 |
| A lot | 28.6 | 32.5 | 55.6 | 40.7 | 17.8 | 12.5 |
| Not Answered | 8.9 | 10.8 | 7.0 | 4.3 | 25.7 | 27.6 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

(1) The Task Force interviewed a total of 635 community members: 203 project clientele, 187 professionals and 245 community leaders. Unless otherwise stated the number of project clientele and community leader respondents for all tables is 203 and 245 respectively. The number of community leader respondents in all tables which require knowledge of at least one project in his or her area is 152 as 38% of the community leaders knew of no Opportunities for Youth projects.

It would seem that well over 60% of the clientele had at least some contact with project leaders and over 70% with staff. Contact was much more frequent, however, with the professionals. Community leaders were contacted the least.

A more significant level of community involvement is found in the amount of consultation between participants and community people. Table 2 describes the numbers of the different community groups consulted by those working on the project.

TABLE 2
Degree of Consultation with Project Leaders/
Participants By Type of Community Respondent
(Per Cent)

| | <u>Project Clientele</u> | | <u>Professionals</u> | | <u>Community Leaders</u> | |
|-----------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| | Consul- tation with Leader | Consul- tation with Staff | Consul- tation with Leader | Consul- tation with Staff | Consul- tation with Leader | Consul- tation with Staff |
| No | 43.3 | 44.8 | 15.0 | 23.5 | 25.7 | 38.2 |
| A Little | 21.7 | 21.7 | 32.1 | 34.3 | 28.9 | 16.4 |
| Often | 13.3 | 14.3 | 43.8 | 31.0 | 10.5 | 3.9 |
| Not Answered | 21.7 | 19.2 | 9.1 | 11.2 | 34.9 | 41.5 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Project personnel only consulted with about 35% of their clientele. With both professionals and community leaders, the rate of consultation was higher than with project clientele. Not surprisingly, those working on projects sought advice most frequently from professionals - in fact, about 70% of the Task Force sample of that group.

Perhaps the best indicator of community involvement is participation in decision-making.

TABLE 3
Degree of Participation in Decision-Making
Process of Project by Type of Community Respondent
(Per Cent)

| | Project Clientele | Professionals | Community Leaders |
|------------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|
| Yes often | 9.4 | 24.6 | 5.3 |
| Yes occasionally | 16.8 | 33.7 | 9.9 |
| No, not at all | 65.4 | 37.4 | 58.5 |
| Not answered | 8.4 | 4.3 | 26.3 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

More than 65% of project clientele did not participate in decision-making at all; the same is true for a few less community leaders. The professionals, because of their expertise, participate the most in project decisions; at the same time, less than 25% said they took part often in these decisions.

In conclusion, for all the community groups, the number involved decreased as the level of involvement became more

significant. This tendency affected project clientele and community leaders most severely; only a little over one-quarter of the former and about 15% of the latter participated at all in decision-making. This pattern of community involvement has some obvious implications for the amount of benefit flowing to localities from the project.

Professionals were more frequently involved as they were consulted in the hope that their advice would improve the quality of the service provided by the project. However, such specialized instruction was not informed by an overview of community realities. By not consulting community leaders or potential clients, project participants would have difficulty ensuring that the goals and operation of the project were realistic in relation to the over-all needs of the community.

Although it is difficult for an "agent" group such as students to develop good working relationships with a "client" group in short term projects, this failure to involve the clientele in the running of the project may have many consequences. Those projects which allowed little participation by their clientele but provided services for them - particularly, if the clients were disadvantaged - may be comparable to the paternalistic position of traditional welfare organizations with their vertical structures and hierarchical values. Similarly, they could also have prevented the clientele from joining in the meaningful activity from which the more privileged students were benefiting.

More seriously, it might prevent many of the more disadvantaged from raising their level of social awareness through collective participation in an activity which they themselves defined as in their own interest. As mentioned above, such an increase in social awareness is an important concomitant of any improvement in the clientele's own position through their own efforts.

The degree to which someone can benefit from a project is to a large extent determined by his perception of the purpose of the project. Table 4 describes the community estimation of programme goals.

TABLE 4
Estimation of Principal Goals of the OFY
Programme by Type of Community Respondent **
(Per Cent)

| | Project Clientele | Professionals | Community Leaders | Total |
|--|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------|
| To prevent social unrest - a political move | 8.4 | 17.6 | 15.5 | 13.9 |
| To integrate youth into the community | 8.4 | 16.6 | 16.7 | 14.0 |
| To finance innovative and meaningful projects | 8.4 | 16.0 | 13.1 | 12.4 |
| To give employment to students | 60.6 | 70.1 | 63.7 | 64.6 |
| To provide needed community services | 21.2 | 28.3 | 14.7 | 20.8 |
| Other | 9.9 | 1.6 | 4.9 | 5.5 |
| TOTAL | * | * | * | * |

* Percentages do not add to 100 since categories are not mutually exclusive.

** Open-ended question - categories not predetermined.

It is apparent that over 60% of all three community groups were aware that the major goal of Opportunities for Youth was the provision of employment for students. The next largest group of project clientele and professionals believed the supplying of needed community services to be a major aim of the programme. This specification of a goal relevant to community benefit was perhaps a function of the disadvantaged clients' need for any additional service whatever its nature. Consistent with their own interests, the community leaders tended to place more emphasis upon the function of the programme as a preventative of social unrest and an integrator of youth into the community than as a vehicle of community benefit.

In general community leaders were more critical than the project clients and the professionals of the operating details of projects within the community. For example, more of them - as seen in Table 5 - said the project duplicated existing services in the community.

TABLE 5

Degree of Duplication of Project By
Type of Community Respondent
 (Per Cent)

| | Project Clientele | Professionals | Community Leaders | Total |
|------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------|
| Yes | 17.7 | 23.5 | 21.1 | 20.7 |
| No | 65.6 | 71.7 | 51.9 | 63.8 |
| Don't Know | 16.7 | 4.8 | 27.0 | 15.5 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Project clients also seemed less confident that the other institutions in the community could provide the services offered by projects. However, Table 6 shows that they were perhaps also less aware of the facilities in the community which could provide those services in place of the projects.

In contrast to the clientele, the professionals and community leaders believed there were ways other than Opportunities for Youth to provide the services. Their greater knowledge of the facilities in the community may have prompted this response.

TABLE 6

Estimation of Whether Services could be Provided through
Other Means by the Type of Community Respondent
(Per Cent)

| | Project Clientele | Professionals | Community Leaders | Total |
|------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------|
| Yes | 16.7 | 49.2 | 39.4 | 34.3 |
| No | 38.4 | 40.1 | 30.3 | 36.7 |
| Don't Know | 44.9 | 10.7 | 30.3 | 29.0 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

However, in evaluating community awareness, it is necessary to qualify any consideration of the apparently greater knowledge of professionals and community leaders with the fact that the project clients' response was based on their actual experience of the

community's past performance in providing these services. This experience of the project clientele, as reflected in their responses, would seem to indicate that the performance of the community in providing these services was less than good, as they were unaware of the existence of the service.

Another indication of the benefits accruing to communities from projects can be found in the community's evaluation of the projects in relation to community needs. Table 7 shows that the largest proportion of respondents believed the services offered by projects answered priority needs.

TABLE 7
Evaluation of Project in Relation to Community
Needs by Type of Community Respondent

| | Project Clientele | Professionals | Community Leaders | Total |
|--------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Urgent | 16.7 | 15.5 | 13.2 | 15.3 |
| Priority | 54.6 | 55.0 | 32.8 | 48.7 |
| Secondary | 9.9 | 19.3 | 18.4 | 15.5 |
| Artificial | 3.0 | 3.2 | 5.3 | 3.7 |
| Don't Know | 8.9 | 2.7 | 3.3 | 5.2 |
| Not Answered | 6.9 | 4.3 | 27.0 | 11.6 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

It would seem at first glance that the projects were enormously successful in answering community needs. Despite some duplications, it is possible that the projects may have demonstrated, to a limited extent, what could have been done in certain areas. Also worth noting is that 46.0% of those whose overview of community needs should have been the most comprehensive - the community leaders - said the project met urgent or priority needs; another 18.4% said the needs served were only secondary.

More important than whether projects met priority needs on their own terms is the quality of their response to these needs. The analysis of Tables 1, 2 and 3 showed that, where project participants did not significantly involve community leaders and particularly project clientele, there were some constraints on the possible community benefit of the projects.

Table 8 summarizes the community response about the employment priorities they themselves perceived.

TABLE 8

OFY as Source of Employment for Most Needy in
Community by Type of Community Respondent

| | Project Clientele | Professionals | Community Leaders | Total |
|------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Yes | 44.4 | 29.4 | 26.5 | 33.1 |
| No | 31.5 | 49.7 | 50.2 | 44.1 |
| Don't Know | 24.1 | 20.9 | 23.3 | 22.8 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

Almost twice as many professionals and community leaders felt that employment was not going to the most needy as those who believed it was. At the same time, 44.4% of project clientele saw the programme as employing the most needy. However, their relative youth, and the fact that they were the recipients of needed services, may have made them less objective critics.

In sum, a large proportion of community respondents believed the programme did not serve the most needy.

Given the mixture of community praise and criticism of the programme, it is useful to know whether community persons believed it should be repeated another year. Table 9 summarizes the community view on the continuation of the national programme.

TABLE 9
Continuation of OFY Programme
By Type of Community Respondent

| | Project Clientele | Professionals | Community Leaders | Total |
|-----------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Yes | 78.8 | 92.0 | 76.3 | 68.1 |
| No | 1.5 | 3.7 | 9.0 | 7.9 |
| Undecided | 19.7 | 4.3 | 14.7 | 24.0 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The belief that the programme should be continued was strong - particularly among the professionals.

To isolate the community attitude towards specific projects from its belief in the value of the general idea behind Opportunities for Youth, it is necessary to examine their responses about the continuation of the project without an Opportunities for Youth grant. Table 10 describes their attitude towards the continuation of specific projects after the expiration of this grant.

TABLE 10

Continuation of Project After OFY Grant

By Type of Community Respondent

| | Project Clientele | Professionals | Community Leaders | Total |
|--------------|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Yes | 77.4 | 70.1 | 53.3 | 68.1 |
| No | 3.9 | 10.2 | 10.5 | 7.9 |
| Not Answered | 18.7 | 19.8 | 36.2 | 24.0 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

The reaction of both professionals and community leaders to the continuation of projects without Opportunities for Youth grants is noticeably less enthusiastic than their feeling about the general programme. However, it is still more positive than negative, and the attitude of the project clientele is about as favourable as it was towards the programme.

Over 70% of the project clientele and the professionals indicate that the project should continue, and while the community leaders are less enthusiastic about the continuation of projects, the proportion of positive to negative responses is 5:1. Only 3.9% of the project clientele responded negatively to this question.

Although all groups in the community wanted the Opportunities for Youth programme to continue, they held definite views about what its future goals should be. Table 11 outlines the future aims for the programme as suggested by community people.

Generally, community people gave very low priority to what they saw as the major goal of Opportunities for Youth this year - the employment of students (See Table 5). The largest proportion mentioned work for all the unemployed; the next most frequently mentioned goal was the serving of community needs as defined by the community. Only the professionals deviated from this over-all pattern. The second largest number of that group mentioned learning experience as a goal.

TABLE 11

Recommendation for Future OFY Goals*

By Type of Community Respondent

| | Project Clientele | Professionals | Community Leaders | Total |
|--|----------------------|---------------|----------------------|-------|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Work to all unemployed | 26.6 | 32.6 | 43.7 | 35.0 |
| Answer community needs as defined by the community | 20.7 | 25.1 | 26.5 | 24.3 |
| Youthful initiative to help community | 11.8 | 18.7 | 18.8 | 16.5 |
| Learning experience for participants | 10.8 | 29.9 | 12.2 | 17.0 |
| Employ students | 16.8 | 17.1 | 11.8 | 14.9 |
| Politicize community | 9.9 | 10.2 | 8.6 | 9.4 |
| Practical career experience | 3.0 | 7.5 | 8.6 | 6.5 |
| Other | 23.6 | 25.7 | 29.8 | 26.6 |

* Open-ended question.

It should be noted that not one of the three groups mentioned students as a target group in their two most frequently suggested future goals.

When asked to list the social groupings that they thought most disadvantaged, only 1.3% of community persons specifically mentioned students. Table 12 sets down the frequency with which certain groups were mentioned.

TABLE 12

Community Estimation of Most
Disadvantaged Groups by Region*

| | B.C. | Prairies | Ont. | Que. | Mari- times | Total |
|--|-------|----------|-------|-------|----------------|-------|
| <u>Age:</u> the old, neglected children, dropouts | 30.2 | 24.0 | 17.3 | 4.3 | 13.8 | 14.9 |
| <u>Employment:</u> the unemployed, welfare recipients, the unskilled | 30.2 | 12.0 | 27.1 | 43.8 | 13.8 | 26.9 |
| <u>Ethnic and</u> <u>Racial</u> Minorities | 18.9 | 12.0 | 18.8 | 1.9 | 10.9 | 11.2 |
| <u>Income:</u> the poor | 11.3 | 26.7 | 14.6 | 21.6 | 44.2 | 25.0 |
| <u>Other:</u> the handicapped, ex-criminals, etc. | 9.4 | 25.3 | 22.2 | 28.4 | 17.3 | 22.0 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

* Open-ended question.

Over-all, community people mentioned the poor and the hardcore unemployed more frequently as those most in need of assistance. As can be seen, the regional variations on this pattern were very numerous. However, it is significant that students received so little mention.

RESPONSE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

The major source of information about Opportunities for Youth to the general public was the press. The extensiveness of their coverage and the quality of their treatment might - aside from pointing to areas where the programme might require improvement - generate both awareness and opinions among the mass of the population not particularly affected by the programme. However, there are so many variables which intervene between good comprehensive press coverage and public awareness that one must be cautious in making generalizations.

To evaluate the media response to Opportunities for Youth, the Task Force collected clippings of all newspaper items dealing with the programme. The survey covered all major Canadian newspapers, as well as a sample of local and underground newspapers, for the period between April 1 and September 30.

Although not an exhaustive survey, it does provide a fairly reliable guide to the image of Opportunities for Youth presented by the press.

In all, the major dailies and the Task Force sample of other newspapers produced 2,587 stories, editorials and columns on the programme. Eighty-eight appeared in the April to May period, 1,673 in June and July and 827 in August and September. The following table gives a breakdown of clippings dealing with the general programme and projects over time.

TABLE 13

Topic of Clipping by Date

| | April-May | | June-July | | August-September | | Total |
|----------------|-----------|-------|-----------|-------|------------------|-------|-------|
| | | % | | % | | % | |
| Projects only | 25 | 32.9 | 1022 | 61.9 | 538 | 62.6 | 1585 |
| Programme only | 31 | 40.8 | 261 | 15.8 | 131 | 15.2 | 423 |
| Both | 20 | 26.3 | 368 | 22.3 | 191 | 22.2 | 579 |
| TOTAL | 76 | 100.0 | 1651 | 100.0 | 860 | 100.0 | 2587 |

Newspapers' penchant for local news and the fact that most of the activity occurred in the field probably explains this concentration upon projects once the government had publicized their existence. Confirmation that the public announcements of individual projects played a role in stimulating the most intense coverage early in the summer lies also in the far larger quantity of space devoted to the projects by newspapers at that time.

Of the clippings which dealt with the programme, 53% of the clippings collected clearly offered an opinion. There were only a few more negative than positive comments. The attitude of the press towards the programme became more positive over time as more information became available.

TABLE 14

Attitude towards Programme by Date (Per Cent)

| | April-May | June-July | Aug-Sept. | Total |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|-------|
| Positive | 14.9 | 15.7 | 46.5 | 25.2 |
| Negative | 16.2 | 33.0 | 20.3 | 27.8 |
| Information | 39.1 | 21.2 | 18.7 | 21.7 |
| Mixed | 13.6 | 6.8 | 6.7 | 7.3 |
| Other | 16.2 | 23.3 | 7.8 | 18.0 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |

In contrast, the projects alone attracted uniformly favourable comment. Of the clippings about projects, 44% were positive, 7% negative, 3% mixed; the rest provided information only, as seen in Table 15.

TABLE 15

Attitude towards Projects by Date (per cent)

| | April-May | June-July | Aug-Sept | Total | n |
|-------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-------|------|
| Positive | 44.2 | 40.9 | 50.4 | 44.2 | 956 |
| Negative | 2.9 | 8.4 | 5.8 | 7.4 | 162 |
| Information | 52.9 | 45.6 | 35.7 | 42.3 | 915 |
| Mixed | - | 3.7 | 2.7 | 3.3 | 71 |
| Other | - | 1.4 | 5.4 | 2.8 | 60 |
| TOTAL | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 2164 |

The difference between press evaluation of the general programme and that of individual projects may have sprung from considerations about who should get credit or discredit because of the programme. For example, an experiment such as the Opportunities for Youth programme may have appeared as another ill-considered imposition by the federal government. A successful project to aid the elderly, conceived and administered by local young persons, was an obvious object of civic pride. It is not surprising that comments about projects were so much more favourable than those about the general programme.

For example, the implementation of the programme lay in the hands of the Opportunities for Youth staff in Ottawa. The delays and errors associated with the administration of the programme received considerable publicity right across Canada. Table 16 shows a breakdown of press opinion on the principle behind, and execution of, Opportunities for Youth.

TABLE 16
Media Evaluation of Programme Principle
and Execution (Per Cent)

| | Principle | Execution |
|-------|---------------|--------------|
| Good | 56.6 | 4.2 |
| Fair | 5.4 | 5.5 |
| Bad | 38.0 | 90.3 |
| TOTAL | 100. (n=184)* | 100 (n=165)* |

* Excludes non-evaluative treatment

In over 60% of the clippings, journalists viewed the principle behind the programme as good or fair; however, over 90% said its execution was bad. Well publicized "errors" in the selection process and delays in the administration partially explains this distribution.

Table 17 reveals that the efforts of programme and project participants had little effect on the general awareness of Opportunities for Youth.

TABLE 17

Public Awareness of Opportunities
for Youth Programme

| | Total | 16-18 | 19-21 | 22-24 | 25-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50 & over |
|-------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|
| Total Inter-views | 1000 | | | | | | | |
| % | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Know a great deal | 173 | | | | | | | |
| % | 17.3 | 16.4 | 20.3 | 14.3 | 19.6 | 22.6 | 17.5 | 13.1 |
| Some | 83 | | | | | | | |
| % | 8.3 | 10.2 | 7.0 | 8.3 | 5.5 | 5.1 | 3.1 | 14.4 |
| Nothing | 744 | | | | | | | |
| % | 74.4 | 73.4 | 72.7 | 77.4 | 74.9 | 72.3 | 79.4 | 72.5 |

Source: Canadian Facts Co. Ltd. "A Report on a Measurement of Awareness of the Opportunities for Youth Programme." A report for the Evaluation Task Force, November, 1971.

This low level of awareness was about the same for all age-groups. If anything, it was slightly lower among those between 19 and 24 years old.

Many participants in Opportunities for Youth aimed their projects specifically at the disadvantaged. Again, it is reasonable to expect that lower-income groups would be more aware of the programme, if its impact upon them was at all striking. However, Table 18 shows the opposite is true.

TABLE 18
Family Income

| Under \$8,000 | Total | Total | Under 5,000 | 5,000 7,999 | Refused |
|-------------------|---------------|--------------|---------------|-------------|-----------------------------|
| Total Inter-views | 1000 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Know a Great Deal | 173 17.3 | 11.6 | 6.6 | 18.7 | 12.2 |
| Some | 83 8.3 | 11.5 | 11.7 | 11.8 | - |
| Nothing | 744 74.4 | 76.9 | 81.7 | 69.5 | 87.8 |
| Over \$8,000 | Total | 8,000 11,999 | 12,000 & over | Refused | Over-all Refused Don't Know |
| Total Inter-views | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 | 100.0 |
| Know a Great Deal | 19.6 | 15.1 | 25.7 | 36.0 | 21.1 |
| Some | 7.0 | 7.8 | 6.0 | 2.1 | 6.5 |
| Nothing | 73.4 | 77.1 | 68.3 | 61.9 | 72.4 |

Source: See Table 17.

In fact, it would appear the level of awareness varied directly with size of income. The smaller the income of respondent's family, the less likely it was he or she would know anything

about Opportunities for Youth.

Thus, it would seem that the young and the disadvantaged were the least aware of the programme.

CONCLUSIONS

Perhaps as important as the success of Opportunities for Youth in achieving its goal of enabling students to take part in activities were the effects it had upon the participants and the community at large. These point to other areas where the programme was effective or ineffective as well as to aspects that require basic change if such a programme is to be useful in the future.

In spite of the goal of having community benefit accrue from projects, Opportunities for Youth was structured so that the benefit to its student participants would outweigh any benefit which went to the community.

One indication of this setting of priorities is apparent in the public response at the national level to the programme. In spite of the media coverage, the young and the poor - presumably groups in the community at which the programme was aimed - were the least aware of the programme. Given that almost 75% of all Canadians knew nothing about the programme, this finding becomes even more dramatic.

Not surprisingly, a more precise view of the strengths and weaknesses of the programme in relation to community benefit emerged from the Task Force sample of persons from communities where there had been projects. Their reactions seemed positive. However, it appeared that, although many valued the services provided through the projects, there were also many who felt that these services could be provided by the communities themselves. Their desire that the programme continue in the future was qualified by their view that the programme should aim itself not at students, but at more needy groups in the community.

A marked increase in social awareness among disadvantaged participants would help some of them to acquire the social and political instruments necessary if they are to improve their condition themselves. Beyond the consideration of simple human dignity, there can be little doubt that financial support for projects run by the disadvantaged to take action in their own interest would be far more meaningful than the same support for students seeking only an interesting way to spend the summer months.

CONCLUSIONS & RECOMMENDATIONS



CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

In retrospect, Summer '71 may prove to be an important point in the decline of historical authority in Canada. Opportunities for Youth, which began amidst controversy but slowly caught on, was a novel and frequently exciting programme for many young people. It was the summer when, although somewhat hesitatingly, they started to do things their own way. And the government seemed to be listening.

Indeed, the government had to listen. Prior to late 1970, it had been forced to the recognition of a variety of potentially critical problems: summer unemployment among students, youth discontent, transiency, alienation and rebelliousness, the fear of revolution in Quebec, and the sudden increase in demands for action on such issues as drugs, pollution, social welfare, poverty, discrimination against women, Indians, Eskimos, and Blacks, and the Americanization of the culture and economy. Not all of these problems were new, but somehow they appeared to be related both to each other and to a growing demand for public participation in their definition and solution.

Moreover, it was clear that the traditional federal response in these areas was in many ways seriously inadequate, and radical changes in policy were expected to emerge from an increasing number of White Papers, Royal Commissions, Special Committees, and Task Forces.

In particular, the Secretary of State had assigned responsibility for a major re-examination of the so-called "youth question" to the Committee on Youth late in 1969. The issues which they confronted, and the manner in which they sought to resolve them, are clearly relevant to an evaluation of the government's most recent youth programmes.

The manner in which the youth question is usually raised is one which assumes that young people constitute a special group or "class," with its own peculiar needs, interests, and attitudes. That is, apart from the characteristic of being young - or rather because of it - young people are assumed to share other attributes as well, which make it viable for government to design special programmes aimed exclusively at them. Once this assumption is made, the question becomes one of arriving at the actual determinants of this class membership: of discovering the special needs, attitudes, or aspirations of youth to be dealt with by the government. This was substantially the question posed to the Committee on Youth.

But the way in which they chose to answer it rejects the very terms of the original question. The authors maintain that to treat youth as a class is both paternalistic and ineffective. Although young people possess certain common attitudes and opinions - a sharply critical view of established society, of its institutions and structures as well as its ethic - this clearly does not imply that youth has special needs or problems which the rest of society does not share, or which can be dealt with on a separate basis. What makes the present generation unique is that the problems faced by young people, many of which are problems faced by everyone, have provoked in them a significant and vocal disenchantment with the present system. In other words, the report concludes that youth constitutes a special and distinct group insofar as many young people stand opposed to the beliefs and practices of the "mainstream" society - but the solution does not lie in attempting to pacify young people, it lies in changing the society. Special youth programmes, designed by "adults" to keep young people occupied or quiescent, merely "contribute to widening the very gap they were designed to narrow."¹

The Committee's specific recommendations are still under consideration, and it seems unlikely that anything as obviously utopian as its P2 proposal will ever be attempted by any government. But the general approach outlined above appears to be gaining official acceptance. Because they constitute both a clear analysis and a

¹. *It's Your Turn....* A report to the Secretary of State by the Committee on Youth. Ottawa, 1971, p.3.

statement of policy at the highest level, it is worth citing the Prime Minister's most recent remarks on this issue.

"Modern youth in one important sense is quite distinct from the youth of yesteryear: we are compelled to recognize them as a distinct group. It is the information to which they are exposed that sets today's young people apart in their behaviour and their quest for values, and that in turn acts among them as a bond of mutual recognition everywhere. It is information which makes them such harsh critics of a social system which is becoming increasingly less able, because of its highly perfected communications, to cover up its contradictions and abuses.

Copious and diversified information enables most young people to experience life at an early age and in an original way. We therefore owe it to them to broaden our social conscience. Whatever their detours or excursions, their quest always leads them to a single conclusion: a belief in the necessity for a new integration of the individual, the community, and the environment. In their eyes, institutions are flagrantly out of step with reality and change is urgently required because man as a being is being overlooked. In short, young people in their impatience are asking that society immediately move to a higher level of humanity. We must listen to these demands, and we must seek to implement them even though we know that they cannot quickly be satisfied, for evolutionary processes are always slow." 2

What this perspective on youth entails, then, is the view that young people are capable of perceiving the grave problems and contradictions of our society, and of articulating them in an intelligent and forceful manner. It is because young people *are* young, because the special nature of their upbringing gives them

2. Address to the Province of Quebec Chamber of Commerce. Saint-Adele, September 17, 1971.

access to a wealth of information and ideas, and also because their youth ensures that they are not yet fully integrated into the dominant economic and social network and therefore have less vested interest in it, that their reactions to the common situations are often more pronounced than those of persons more resigned to their fate. There is no "youth problem"; there are only problems of society, which young people elucidate and vocalize, albeit not always correctly, but nevertheless with greater persistence than other groups in society.

For those in government who share this perspective, it is evident that "the major objective must be to deal with their criticism in terms of the whole society. To treat their convictions as a 'youth problem' and to respond only by the formulation of a 'youth policy' or a 'youth department' would be to further isolate and frustrate youth...."³

Although the Summer '71 programmes remained specifically *youth* programmes, they contained elements capable of being extended to other age groups. The principle behind the Opportunities for Youth programme - that of giving individuals and private groups the resources with which to act upon their own definitions of local needs - has already been applied, with some modifications, to this winter's Local Initiatives Programme (LIP). In considering its recommendations for this Report, the Task Force sought to

³. *Op.cit.* *It's Your Turn....* p.3.

extend the idea of such programmes to its logical conclusion. The Committee on Youth report suggested that Opportunities for Youth would provide a catalogue of the unmet needs of Canadians.⁴ But it should not be seen as a way of meeting the needs which it uncovers: to fund permanent activities in this way would destroy the experimental and innovative nature of the programme. Rather, where the type of service required is similar in different parts of the country, a specific granting programme is better able to meet previously recognized needs.

The recommendations made here distinguish, implicitly, between community problems which can be dealt with on a piece-meal basis (e.g., by providing specific programmes), and those which require more fundamental structural changes in the society. An "Opportunities" programme can expose both types to public awareness; but it cannot solve either. Its fundamental purpose is that of social development: it can generate useful public information, give people experience in utilizing common resources, and serve as a catalyst for government or individual action. But it does not diminish the need for long-term planning or structural change; it cannot, by itself, eliminate the "contradictions and abuses" of the system as a whole. The recommendations made in this Report must be seen in the context of these more general considerations.

4. *Ibid.* *It's Your Turn*.... p. 181.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR PEOPLE

The programme suggested here incorporates and extends the principle behind Opportunities for Youth and the new Local Initiatives Programme. It involves a diversification of target groups, a clarification of goals, and a built-in means of continuing experimentation and evaluation. The basic objective of the programme would be to provide opportunities for social innovation, financial independence, and public participation, rather than be the means of providing essential social services. Like OFY and LIP, Opportunities for People would be composed of projects submitted and implemented by private *ad hoc* groups. In addition to the vast majority of projects which would have to fit into the guidelines and administrative mechanisms set out below, there would be a few projects each year which were radically experimental in some way. For example, in selected areas the programme could experiment with a total decentralization of decision-making, administration, and project selection, on a small scale.

OFY was intended mainly for post-secondary students. The public reaction revealed that many other groups would be interested in such a programme. Opportunities for People, like LIP, would be in principle open to anyone, with a special emphasis on three major groups: (a) persons unemployed or on welfare; (b) students temporarily inactive during the summer; and (c) persons over 65. This division is not made in order to prevent the mixing

of different groups as participants in the same project, but from a recognition that these groups have substantially different needs and abilities.

One of the weaknesses of the OFY programme was that its goals appear to have been presented as solutions to problems which are out of the reach of a programme of its nature. But as an experiment in ways of identifying and responding to such problems, the programme was both interesting and useful. Opportunities for People would not pretend to solve the problem of unemployment, or the redistribution of resources and income in general, or the need for more social services. These problems are urgent, but they must be dealt with in other ways. In particular, it must be clearly recognized that OFP does not "provide employment"; rather, it attempts to exploit the skills for the benefit of the total society of those people forced to be idle. Employment is only provided when the demand for workers is increased, either by expanding the productive sector of the economy, or by permanently increasing the society's willingness to pay for service activities. In funding temporary, innovative projects, the Opportunities for People programme would seek to make use of the reservoir of human ability which is constantly being wasted by a primarily profit-oriented economic system. Its over-all objective would be to experiment with different responses in a variety of areas (economic, cultural, recreational, and so on), so that both government and people have the chance to explore a great number of alternatives. In some cases it might be found

that certain programmes should be greatly expanded; in others, it might be better to retain a variety of approaches to the same phenomenon. In either case, it would seem more valuable to carry out relatively inexpensive experiments and demonstrations than to rely on purely theoretical debates.

It is essential to the success of such a programme that it be flexible, independent, and organized in an efficient but not bureaucratic manner. The recommendations are designed to guarantee these characteristics. They deal with (a) the mandate and establishment of Opportunities for People; (b) the criteria for the selection of projects; (c) the project selection procedure; (d) project support; (e) the budget and time frame of the programme; and (f) additional mechanisms designed to protect the flexibility of the programme.

These recommendations are intended to recognize the strengths of OFY, and expand upon them. The programme that is suggested, Opportunities for People, involves a diversification of target groups, a clarification of goals, and a built-in means of continuing experimentation and evaluation.

For Opportunities for People to work it would first need a powerful mandate from the government to carry out its programme. The basic objective of the programme would be to provide opportunities for social innovation, financial independence, and public participation rather than to be the means of providing essential social services. Projects seeded by Opportunities for

People that demonstrated a need for a social service and a means of meeting that need, should be picked up and subsidized by other government departments even if operated by voluntary organizations. Otherwise Opportunities for People would quickly lose its experimental and innovative characteristics. Therefore, in order to assure that Opportunities for People retains its own characteristics and can effectively serve as a catalyst to other government departments, the mandate from the government must contain three essential elements.

Recommendation 1: At the inception of Opportunities for People, the government should make a public statement which explains its principles; i.e. that it would act as a catalyst to other departments in that it would seed projects which, if they were successful, should be supported and, if applicable, expanded by the appropriate government department.

In order to guarantee flexible administration and freedom from any particular departmental bias, Opportunities for People should be established as a Crown Corporation or similarly independent body. The special legislation for its structure would include those features desirable to the special nature and function of the programme. Opportunities for People would then report directly to a Minister and to Parliament.

Selection

As in the case of OFY and LIP, the government's most important role lies in the selection of projects for funding. It is at this point that the programme staff can do the most good, through selecting projects which are stimulating and viable; it is also at this point that they can do most harm, by allowing their own prejudices or outside political influence to prevent innovative and potentially controversial activities. At the same time, it is clear that ultimately the programme can only be as good as the project proposals it receives; therefore, the government should provide field officers to contact members of the target groups, stimulate proposals, help with the filling in of forms, and so on.

Students, both high school and university, will wish to undertake projects which are both interesting and sufficiently financially rewarding to enable them to go back to school. Although they may be actively interested in community involvement, it is unlikely that their interest will have the same connotations as the community involvement interests of the other two groups. Persons who are unemployed or on welfare tend to live in defined geographical areas, be it a housing project, a slum, or a run-down section of the city. To them community involvement may often mean acting in the context of their own lives. Projects in such communities may often become means of solving problems particular to the community, or even of raising the level of community

self-awareness. Another expectation of those who have been locked into the poverty cycle would be that they could use the programme to break out of that cycle and establish some sort of financial independence. Opportunities for People could encourage experiments in co-operative labour, which might become self-sufficient after the government subsidy is withdrawn. Such projects do not represent a "solution" to the general "problem" of poverty. But financial independence, dignity and an opportunity to escape from dependency on welfare and unemployment insurance must be recognized as legitimate aspirations.

The actual restrictions which need to be placed on Opportunities for People projects are very few.

Recommendation 2: As a general rule, project grants should include a maximum of 20% overhead or capital costs; but in special cases this limit might be raised.

Co-operative experiments might serve as examples of projects where the limit on capital expenditure should be raised. For instance, a group of people might want to set up a co-op food store, to buy groceries at cost and sell them as near to cost as possible. Such an enterprise would require some initial money to pay the first few months' rent, to set up an accounting system, and to buy some initial stock. For such a project to succeed it would require a small seed grant (probably less than \$2000) and perhaps staff salaries for a few months.

In such a project, the customers would be members of the co-op, and thus there would be no profits. In general, while encouraging experimental projects in "self-sufficiency", Opportunities for People would maintain the policy of both OFY and LIP of rejecting profit-making schemes.

Because the participants design and submit their own projects they will hope that the activity involved will be personally meaningful to them in some way. The programme can recognize this but of course must also recognize that it is not in the position to administer "meaning"; it can only attempt to make its criteria sufficiently broad to include activities of the type that would be proposed by the people it wishes to involve.

Criteria for Selection of Projects

The explicit selection criteria should be minimal, and designed only to exclude projects which clearly fall outside the programme's scope, such as profit-making activities, large capital expenditures, or projects which wastefully duplicate existing community services.

Recommendation 3: Profit-making projects would be automatically excluded.

One of the strengths of OFY was that its wide criteria encompassed many projects which were not entirely innovative in concept but which had never been done because they did not exactly fit the granting policy of any government department. Thus while

the emphasis on innovation should be maintained, this must be taken in the context of the particular community; what is established and old hat in one place may never have happened in another.

This year OFY accepted no projects with less than three participants; LIP none with less than five. Because Opportunities for People would continue this social orientation, and because working with others is an important part of the participant experience, a rule prohibiting projects with less than three participants should be maintained.

Recommendation 4: Project proposals should be made by at least three potential participants.

OFY had no upper limit on the number of persons in a project. However, it would found last summer that projects with over 15 people as staff members were less democratic internally and had a multitude of management problems compared to projects of less than 15 people. In fact, the optimum number was found to be 10 participants.

Recommendation 5: Except in special circumstances, no project should be accepted which involves more than 15 people or has a budget greater than \$50,000.

Projects any larger than this could be split up and funded separately, even though they might be part of a larger plan.

Recommendation 6: Projects that duplicate existing agencies or projects both in service offered and constituency served, where such duplication serves no useful purpose in terms of innovation or demonstration, should not be funded by Opportunities for People.

The principle of internal democracy is central to the projects, because one of the essential features of the programme is that it enables people to shape their own activities. This summer it seemed that if there was only one person who received the cheque and was responsible for the project he often felt very threatened by the desire of other project participants to share in the decision-making. This sometimes led to situations where the leader fired or tried to fire participants. There were also some cases where participants felt that the leaders were taking financial advantage of their situation (in fact the average salary of project leaders was \$50 higher than the average salary of project participants). A strong leadership function does not seem to have been desired by most participants. Task Force surveys showed that in only about half of the projects did the leader play "a leadership role". And only about one-fifth of the participants

of the projects with a leader playing a leadership role desired such a function. Thus it would seem desirable to de-emphasize authoritarian leadership and encourage democratic decision-making.

In order to ensure that projects were indeed planned and initiated by young people, OFY tended to discourage applications which were sponsored or co-sponsored by agencies. But there was somewhat more agency participation in OFY than the selectors had intended. And, conceivably, agency participation in certain projects could be positive both for the agency involved and the project participants. Agencies can sometimes provide project participants with expertise and resources that are unavailable elsewhere. Conversely, agencies which want to adapt to emerging needs can often benefit through interaction with non-agency persons. By precluding this collaboration, the agencies are denied the stimulation which they require and project participants, particularly students, are denied the experience of these organizations.

Therefore it would seem that there should be no discrimination, either positive or negative, with regard to agencies. So long as the project involved is submitted and directed by the actual participants, it should not be automatically precluded on the grounds that one of its

participants is from an agency, or because participants intend to collaborate with an agency in achieving their project's goals.

Selection Procedure

Ideally, selection procedures should be as decentralized as possible. This is consistent with the general aims of the programme, and its emphasis on innovation and participation. But the mechanism of decentralization is still undeveloped; it is unclear at this point exactly how decentralization could be accomplished without threatening the very nature of the project selection.

Recommendation 7: A basically centralized decision-making apparatus should be maintained for at least one year.

However, as suggested above, personnel should be available in the field to assist potential applicants and gather information about relevant local conditions.

Both objectives could be attained simultaneously by having a constant number of the project officers in the field on a rotating basis. This continual turnover would guarantee that all central decisions reflected the current field situation.

Project officers must have the expertise required to do their job well. The widening of the eligible population makes it important to recognize that, in order to get good project submissions from the new target groups, it will be necessary to *inform* them of the opportunities available and *encourage* them to develop ideas and submit them. As well as stimulating project submissions, proper officers should be prepared to help groups achieve their aims by acting as general resource people. It would be desirable to hire people from the target groups themselves to do some of the field work and to participate in the selection of projects. Participation is meaningless unless it is extended to the decision-making process itself.

Opportunities for People should also consider trying a few experiments involving complete decentralization. In these cases the particular community - "community" to be defined slightly differently in each case - would have control of the selection criteria and procedure.

Project Support

The OFY staff spent much of their energy last summer in getting projects selected and trying to deal with the mechanisms of contracts and cheques. Any new operation should be smooth enough that there will be time and personnel available for project support when requested. "Support"

includes visits by project officers (when requested), and making available a variety of expertise and experience relevant to the particular projects.

At the same time, supervision of projects should be minimal. Projects which have been designed and initiated by participants should naturally be run and controlled by the same participants. Of course, as with all government projects, there would be an auditing procedure to make sure funds are spent as agreed. Specialized staff, rather than project officers, should be hired for this purpose. And there should not be, as there was with a few projects this summer, the appearance or reality of meddling by the federal government. If a project has been accepted and is spending its money as agreed, there is no need for further controls.

Time Constraints

OFY was a summer programme. The time of the programme was well suited to the student target group it served, but is not particularly advantageous for the expanded groups recommended here.

Recommendation 8: Opportunities for People should be a year-round programme with granting periods four months apart. That proportion of the budget intended for students would be spent exclusively in the summer period.

Because Opportunities for People is a programme whose major function is to seed experiments, it would be inappropriate for it to undertake long-term support of projects. Such projects should either terminate, become self-supporting, gain local support of some kind, or be supported by the appropriate government department. However, there would be a very small number of projects which would take more than four months to establish themselves and demonstrate whether or not they were worth continuing in some form. There would also be the occasional project which had demonstrated real worth but had not yet gained alternative support. This would rarely occur if Opportunities for People is given the mandate it needs so that it can effectively act as a catalyst to government departments. However, when such projects did occur, Opportunities for People might desire to continue funding some of them, rather than dropping them.

Despite these exceptions, four months would be the general rule for project duration. Opportunities for People, as a programme interested in experimentation and innovation, would have to avoid becoming rigid, a supplier of essential services, a long-term means of support for particular individuals. The arguments that can be applied for the occasional extension of project duration are not as applicable to extending the length of involvement of participants. The general principle should be that Opportunities for People is more prepared to extend duration of projects than of the participants. Those projects which were extended would then be wise to practise some form of staff rotation in order to avoid a complete turnover.

Recommendation 9: Opportunities for People projects should be accepted for a standard period of four months except for three months for secondary school students. Projects could re-apply for support and in exceptional cases would receive it.

The absolute maximum consecutive support period for any one project would be two years. The absolute maximum consecutive support period for a participant should be one year.

Salaries

Recommendation 10: The basic Opportunities for People salary should be \$500 per month for a full-time participant.

This would be sufficiently high to make sure that those without money could afford to participate and still meet such commitments as supporting a family or going back to university. The salary also, in order to represent a financial improvement, should be significantly higher than welfare or unemployment insurance. OFY's low salary tended to encourage applicants who could afford not to earn enough money to go back to school and to discourage applicants who needed to make enough to support themselves in the next school year.

There would be exceptions to this basic salary.

Recommendation 11: High school students not going to university the next year would be assumed to be living at home and would receive \$300 per month. And persons over 65 would receive the basic salary minus what they were receiving from the Canada Pension Plan.

Budget

The prospective budget is based on two premises. The first is that salaries must be high enough to attract the people at whom the programme is aimed. The rationale behind this has already been explained. The second is that there must be enough money available for each target group so that a credible percentage of the applications can be accepted. If the budget is less than the minimum required for credibility then the selection procedure would be publicly viewed as a lottery rather than as equitable.

Serious negative consequences of such a reaction would be that project participants would not be taken seriously, that those proficient at making applications would be favoured, and that applicants whose projects were rejected would resent having applied since their chance of acceptance was so small. The programme, without a sufficient budget, would be seen as a cynical attempt to win public favour.

OFY seems to have had a budget sufficient, at its given rate of salary levels, to accept enough projects to make the programme credible. The budget proposed in no way represents a solution to the unemployment problem. It is simply the minimum amount of money necessary to carry out a nation-wide programme of the proposed nature.

For the first group (welfare recipients and unemployed), an initial annual grants budget of \$60 million is proposed. This would create 30,000 four month jobs and would, assuming no extension affect about three per cent of the total of unemployed persons. Some of the money could be recovered in reduced welfare and unemployment insurance payments, both federally and provincially. Although the number of jobs to be created would be small compared to the total number of people eligible for the programme, the amount of money proposed should be adequate for a worthwhile experiment.

For the second group (post-secondary students), the proposed grants budget is \$40 million. This would create 20,000 four month jobs. OFY this year created more jobs than that but many of them were of short duration. At \$1,000 per student, subtracting 20% of the total budget for administration costs and project overhead, OFY could have involved the same number, 20,000 students, as is proposed here. Thus, given the change in salary in order to accommodate less wealthy students, the proposed programme will affect about the same number as it did this summer.

The budget for this group would be dispensed during the summer.

The third group, high school students, especially those students going on to a post-secondary institution in the fall following the summer, would be apportioned \$10 million of the proposed budget. This would create 11,111 three month jobs. Thus high school students about to enter university or a community college would have a reasonably good chance of having their project selected. However, it should be noted that the budget is not entirely intended for graduating students; a reasonable share of it should be used for projects submitted by students in other grades.

The fourth group, persons over 65, would be designated \$10 million of the grants budget. At a salary averaging \$400 per month the number of four month jobs created would be 6,250. The

budget for this group would be proportionately fairly low; it is assumed that it would correspond to a proportionately low level of applications.

Project Reports

Recommendation 12: Projects would be required to submit reports. If the project was one which was resubmitted and selected again, it still would have to submit a report every four months. These reports should be available to any member of the public who wished to see them. Project lists and descriptions should be published, especially in the case of research projects.

There are many purposes served by having such reports; they would facilitate programme evaluation, they would be useful to other similar projects, and they would provide a degree of public accountability. The report would describe the nature of the project and what it was intended to do. It would comment on difficulties the project encountered, and suggest means by which these could have been overcome.

Some General Administrative Comments

One of the great strengths of OFY was its atmosphere of creative chaos. As has been noted, this chaos led to many problems, but it also allowed an openness and fluidity which were essential to its successful functioning. The danger of trying to repeat this success is that some strengths, perceived as disorganized,

may be identified as administrative flaws to be ironed out - to the ultimate detriment of the programme. In order to overcome any tendency towards ossification, the first necessity is that Opportunities for People be open to reactions to itself; reactions of projects, accepted and rejected; the public; and the government.

To know these reactions and to gather information about proposed projects Opportunities for People would need to have a decentralized information-gathering apparatus. It would also require means of ensuring that it is sensitive and responsive to the information it receives. This can be done by having at least partially decentralized decision-making and ensuring that participation takes place at every level.

In a programme such as Opportunities for People, it is very important that staff biases do not become fixed and perpetuated. In order to avoid this, administrative personnel should work for the programme for a maximum of three years, and selection personnel should work in their particular region or section for a maximum of two years.

A staggered schedule of staff rotation would ensure adequate overlap.

Opportunities for People, because of its position as an experimenter and innovator, should be a model of good programme planning and evaluation. It should have a permanent evaluation mechanism. This would not be simply a cost-benefit analysis.

The evaluators would spend much of their time in the regions talking to people and discovering ways in which Opportunities for People could refine its experimental sector and otherwise adapt to changing needs and conditions. Opportunities for People would gather enough data on its projects in the process of selection and provision of support that the evaluation need not be extensive. It should, however, be public, and should present some kind of report once a year to the public. Evaluation staff would be hired for a maximum of two years.

Even if Opportunities for People were set up according to these recommendations, it is possible that in a few years it would not be publicly acceptable or would have lost its ability to do what it is supposed to do.

Recommendation 13: The legislation creating Opportunities for People should expire in 5 years.

APPENDIX

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